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THE NEW

CHINA REVIEW

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MULTIPLE BIRTHS AMONG THE CHINESE

BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

The Chinese Annals contain records not only of human events, but also of unusual natural phenomena which left a deep impression upon the minds of the contemporaries. In the early days of historiography, when occurrences were chronicled day by day and year by year, the two categories of human and natural events were noted indiscriminately, merely in the chronological succession as they happened. In the introduction to the *Shu king* we read, for instance: "The king's uncle, the prince of T'ang, found a head of grain, two stalks in different plots of ground growing into one ear, and presented it to the king." In the Bamboo Annals (*Chu shu ki nien*) this feature is still more conspicuous: solar eclipses, meteoric falls, earthquakes, droughts, extraordinary phenomena

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in the growth of trees, appearance of a *fung-hwang* (so-called phœnix), rain of particles of earth, unusual thunder-storms, and other phenomena are there on record, being interspersed with the traditions of imperial and military affairs. Beginning from the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty (*Ts'ien Han shu*), a novel departure from the old practice was instituted inasmuch as the natural events were detached from the general narrative to be relegated to a special section, entitled "Records Relating to the Five Elements" (*Wu hing chi*, 五行志). The majority of official annals has adopted this practice. These chapters contain most interesting information, not for the historian, but for the scientist, and therefore merit close study. They give detailed lists, with exact reference to date and place, of great catastrophes, such as famines, droughts, locust-pests, inundations, hail-storms, landslides, earthquakes, conflagrations, excessive cold, electric storms in the winter, etc., abnormal phenomena and monstrosities in domestic animals and human beings, cases of insanity, abnormal customs and practices, etc. It is to this department of records that we owe our principal information on a subject which has not yet been discussed—the frequency of multiple births among the Chinese.

In ancient times, under the Chou dynasty, the officer presiding over the people (*se min*, 司民) was obliged to keep a register of the population. All individuals were recorded from the age when the teeth appear. A separate count was taken of males and females; every year, the number of births was added, while the number of dead was taken off the register (cf. E. Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, Vol. II, p. 353). We cannot but regret that documents of this character have not survived. No allusion to twins or other plural births is made at that period.

The chapters *Wu hing chi* of the two Han Annals contain no records of multiple births. The *Wei shu* gives a single case of a quadruplet birth. Triplets, but only two cases, are first recorded in the Books of the T'ang Dynasty, and there is a long list of them under the following Sung dynasty. There is one case of a triplet birth of early date, not on record in

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the Annals, but in the *Sou shen ki* (搜神記), written by Yü Pao (干寶) in the early part of the fourth century, who reports that "in A.D. 243 there was a woman who gave birth to three sons." I have not embodied this case in my statistical review of the matter, as the work in question is a Taoist book of marvels, and as the extant edition presents merely a retrospective make-up (cf. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 192).

While triplet and quadruplet births are mentioned in the Annals with comparative frequency, they hardly trouble about twins, save a few cases of united twins. This omission may indicate one of two possibilities: either twin births were too common to attract much attention, or were too scarce to be worthy of notice. This alternative cannot be decided without a solid foundation of statistical material, which unfortunately we do not have. At the outset I am not disposed to assume, on a merely empirical basis, a high degree of fecundity of the Chinese woman or a relative frequency of twins; for it is a common experience of our time that personal opinions and impressions along this line are seldom, if ever, upheld by the results of statistical research. Restraint in this case is the more commendable, as in regard to twin births in Annam we have the following observation of Dr. A.-T. Mondière (Monographie de la femme annamite, *Mémoires de la société d'anthropologie*, II, 1875, p. 474): "Les grossesses doubles sont excessivement rares chez la femme annamite. Sur les 153,174 naissances que j'ai relevées sur les cahiers des villages de toute la Cochinchine de 1872 à 1877 inclus, je n'ai trouvé que 15 accouchements de jumeaux. Soit 1 sur 10,211 naissances. De plus, un arrondissement particulier, celui de Bentré, semble avoir ce privilège, car sur 15 accouchements gémellaires il en a 9 à lui seul, c'est-à-dire 60 pour 100. Les six autres arrondissements (sur 19) qui en ont présenté: Bien-hoà, Chau-Doc, Saigon, Soctrang, Tan-an, Tay-ninh, n'en ont eu chacun qu'un seul cas, en ces six années. D'après ce que les autorités cambodgiennes m'ont déclaré, les jumeaux seraient plus fréquents chez eux, et d'une façon assez sensible, mais ils n'ont pu me fournir de chiffre exact."

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A real investigation of the problem in question is impossible for the present, as we lack any vital statistics for the Chinese Republic. Nevertheless I venture to hope that the facts and observations given below will be of some interest to anthropologists. In order critically to balance the data furnished by the Chinese Annals, it would be indispensable to have reliable birth statistics for China, to know the birth-rate for the different provinces, and to depend on good records showing the total number of plural births for at least a decade. In default of such material in the mother-country I anticipated to receive at least some data from those countries outside of China with a large Chinese population, although it must be taken into account that social and economic conditions of the Chinese abroad are different and that, above all, Chinese emigrants hardly ever take their families along, but intermarry, when settled, with women of other nationalities. I have not yet been able to obtain relevant statistics from the British, the French, and the Dutch colonies; but what I have found thus far is not very encouraging. The Birth Statistics for the Registration Area of the United States for 1915 (Washington, 1917) give a total of 74 births (33 males and 41 females) among the Chinese for that year, but nought else.

According to a communication of Dr. William H. Davis, chief statistician in the Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., there were, in the years 1915–17, 309 births among the Chinese in the registration area for births in the United States (California, not being admitted to the registration area, is not included), only one pair of twins appearing in this total. The state of California gives in its vital statistics only the number of births and deaths of its Chinese populace, without touching the question of plural births. In 1916 there were 425 births (compared with 727 cases of death); in 1917, 419 births (compared with 818 cases of death) among the Chinese of California (Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the Fiscal Years from July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1918, Sácramento, 1918, pp. 201, 203, 205, 207, 224). The statistics of Mexico

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contain merely the number of Chinese living in the various provinces, the total, as taken in the third and last census of 1910, being 13,118 men and 85 women = 13,203 (Estados Unidos Mexicanos, *Boletin de la Dirección General de Estadistica*, Num. 5, p. 37, Mexico, 1914), but no tables of births.

The data are arranged under the headings—Triplets, Quadruplets, Quintuplets, Sextuplets, and Septuplets, and finally United Twins. The reader should keep in mind that these data are not co-ordinated in the Annals, as they appear here, but that they are scattered there and intermixed with other items; they were hence extracted from the text. These data naturally are monotonous, as birth-certificates and statistics in general are bound to be; but in the same manner as it is the statistician's duty to publish his tables of dry figures before offering his conclusions, I deem it my duty to present the Chinese data literally and unchanged in their sober chronicle style in order to enable the reader to formulate conclusions for himself and to check up my own.

TRIPLETS

For the period of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906) only two cases of a triplet birth are on record in the Annals.

1. In A.D. 775 a woman of the family Chang (張), of Chao-ying (昭應), gave birth to one male and two females.
2. In A.D. 905 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of P'eng Wen (彭文), one of the people of Ju-yin (汝陰), in Ying-chou (潁州) (Ngan-hwi).—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21b.

For the Sung period (A.D. 960–1278) the data of triplet births are fuller than for any other dynasty. The following are placed on record:

1. In A.D. 960 triplets (males) were born to Liu Tsin (劉進), a soldier of the Kwei-yi army (歸義軍民), in Hiung-chou (雄州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).—*Sung shi*, ch. 62, p. 19b.

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2, 3. In A.D. 961 triplets (males) were born to Mong Fu (孟福), one of the people of Mong-chou (孟州), (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Mong Kung-li (孟公禮), one of the people of Ting-chou (定州) (Chi-li). The former case is also on record in the *Mong hien chi* (ch. 0B, p. 2).

4. In A.D. 962 triplets (males) were born in the family of a soldier, Yi Ch'ao (宜超), of the Lung-tsie army in the capital (京師龍捷軍卒).

5. In A.D. 965 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of Liu Hwi (劉暉), one of the people in the prefecture of Kiang-ling (江陵) (Hu-pei).

6. In A.D. 966 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of Chao Yüan (趙遠), a soldier of the Hiao-kien army (驍健軍卒), of Ngan-chou (安州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

7–9. In A.D. 967 triplets (males) were born to Kao Yü (高輿), one of the people of Kwang-chou (光州) (Ho-nan); to Chao Se (趙嗣), one of the people of Te-chou (德州) (prefecture of Tsi-nan, Shan-tung), and to Wang Tsin (王進), a soldier of the K'ien-ning army (乾寧軍卒).

10–12. In A.D. 968 triplets (males) were born to Wang Cheng (王政), one of the people of Yi-chou (沂州) (Shan-tung); to Sie Hing (謝興), one of the people of Shan-chou (澶州) (now K'ai-chou (開州), in the prefecture Ta-ming, Chi-li); and to Wang Ngan (王安), one of the people in the district of Ch'ang-chou (長洲縣), in the prefecture of Su-chou (蘇州) (Kiang-su).

13, 14. In A.D. 069 triplets (males) were born to Sun Yen-kwang (孫延廣), one of the people of Lang-chou (閬州) (Se-ch'wan); and to Tung Yüan (董遠), one of the people of K'ai-chou (開州) (prefecture of Ta-ming, Chi-li).

15, 16. In A.D. 973 triplets (males) were born in the family of Wang Yu (王宥), in the district Ts'ing-ch'eng (青城) (prefecture of Wu-ting, Shan-tung);

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and to Liu Yüan (劉 元), one of the people in the prefecture of Ho-nan.

17–20. In A.D. 977 triplets (males) were born to Li Yü (李 遇), a soldier of the Chao-shou army (招 收 軍 卒), of Hing-chou (邢 州) (now Shun-te fu, Chi-li); to Yü Pa (魚 霸), a soldier of the Kwei-hwa army (歸 化 軍 卒), of Ju-chou (汝 州) (Ho-nan); to Sie Tsu (謝 祚), one of the people of Ch'ang-chou (常 州) (now Ch'ang-chou fu, Kiang-su); and to Yang Wan (楊 萬), one of the people in the district Tsin-yüan (晉 原 縣) (Se-ch'wan).

21–24. In A.D. 982 triplets were born to Kin Hing (靳 興), a soldier of the Lung-wei army (龍 衛 軍 卒), of Shan-chou (澶 州) (see above, 10–12); to Cheng Yen-fu (鄭 彥 福), one of the people of Tsin-chou (晉 州) (prefecture of Cheng-ting, Chi-li); three girls were born to Cheng Sün (鄭 訓), one of the people of Fen-chou (汾 州) (Shan-si); triplets, two males, and one female, were born to Ngan Wang (安 旺), a soldier of the Kwei-hwa army (as above), of Hwa-chou (滑 州) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan).

25–27. In A.D. 983 triplets (males) were born to Yü Chao (俞 釗), a soldier of the Shun-hwa army (順 化 軍 卒), of Yang-chou (揚 州) (Kiang-su); to Li Yü (李 遇), one of the people of Wen-chou (溫 州) (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Li Tsu (李 祚), one of the people of Yung-chou (雍 州).

28. In A.D. 985 triplets (males) were born to Ho Tsing (何 靖), one of the people in the district of Fung-sin (奉 新 縣) (prefecture of Nan-ch'ang, Kiang-si).

29. In A.D. 986 triplets (males) were born to Chang Mei (張 美), one of the people in the district Lu-shan (魯 山 縣) (Ho-nan); and to Chang K'in (張 欽), one of the people in the district of Lin-lü (林 慮 縣) (now Lin (林) hien, prefecture of Chang-te, Ho-nan).

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30, 31. In A.D. 987 triplets (males) were born to Chou Ch'eng-hwi (周承暉), one of the people in the district Tsin-yüan (晉原縣) (Se-ch'wan); and to Yang Sheng (楊昇), one of the people in the district of Ku-shi (固始縣) (Ho-nan).

32. In A.D. 988 triplets (males) were born to Fung Yü (馮遇), one of the people of K'i-chou (祁州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

33–35. In A.D. 989 triplets (males) were born to Sü Mei (徐美), one ofthe people of Ts'i-chou (齊州) (Shan-tung); to Hou Yüan (侯遠), one of the people of Ping-chou (幷州) (Se-ch'wan); and to Sü Liu (徐流), a soldier of Ch'ang-chou (常州) (Kiang-su).

36, 37. In A.D. 990 triplets (males) were born to Wang Pin (王斌), one of the people in the district Ho-yang (河陽縣) (now Mong (孟) hien, Hwai-k'ing fu, Ho-nan); and to Li Kwei (李珪), one of the people in the district Sin-si (新息縣). The former case is also on record in the *Mong hien chi* (ch. 10B, p. 2b).

38–46. In A.D. 991 triplets (males) were b rn to Hwang Chao (黃劍), one of the people in the district Tsin-ling (晉陵) (Ch'ang-chou fu, Kiang-su); to P'eng Kung-pa (彭公霸), one of the people in the district Nan-ch'ung (南充縣) (prefecture of Shun-k'ing, Se-ch'wan); to Chou Sin-wang (周信王), one of the people in he district Lung-yang (龍陽) (prefecture of Chang-te, Ho-nan); to Li Ts'ing (李清), one of the people in the district Wu (屋縣); to Kwo Chung (國忠), one of the people in the district Lin-ts'ing (臨清) (Shan-tung); to Sie Yüan-sheng (謝元昇), *li* (吏) of the district Lin-shwi (鄰水) (prefecture of Shun-k'ing, Se-ch'wan); to Chu Wang (朱旺), a soldier in the district Fung-hwa (奉化) (prefecture of Ning-po, Che-kiang); to Hu Li (胡立), one of the people of Ying-chou (瀛州) (Ch'ao-chou fu, Kwang-tung);

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and to Kao Te (高德), one of the people of Hing-chou (邢州) (now Shun-te fu, Chi-li).

47–50. In A.D. 993 triplets (males) were born to Cheng Ngan (鄭安), one of the people in the district Han-tan (邯鄲) (prefecture of Kwang-p'ing, Chi-li); to Wang Hi-nien (王希輦), one of the people in the district Ho-kien (河間) (Chi-li); and to Sung Ho (宋和), one of the people of Ngan-chou (安州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

51. In A.D. 994 triplets (males) were born to Sheng T'ai (盛泰), a soldier in the district Yung-k'iu (雍丘).

52–56. In A.D. 995 triplets (males) were born to Li Shen (李深), a sergeant (*ti kün hiao* 商軍校) in Pao-chou (保州) (now Pao-ting fu, Chi-li); to Wang Hia (王洽), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng (宋城); to Ho Yung (賀用), one of the people in the district Lin-hwai (臨淮) (Ngan-hwi); to Tung Mei (董美), one of the people in the district Yung-ts'ing (永清) (prefecture of Shun-t'ien, Chi-li); and to Ma Fang (馬方), one of the people in the district Chüan-ch'eng (鄄城) (now Pu-chou (濮州), in Ts'ao-chou fu, Shan-tung).

57–61. In A.D. 996 triplets (males) were born to Chao Yen (趙演), one of the people of Fen-chou (汾州) (Shan-si); to Li Se (顓), one of the people of Yi-chou (沂州) (Shan-tung); to Liu Siang (劉相), one of the people of Nan-kien-chou (南劍州) (now Yen-p'ing fu, Fu-kien); to Lu Lwan (陸鸞), one of the people in the district Ngan (安) (in Mien-chou, Se-ch'wan); and to Li Yün (李筠), a soldier of Wei-chou (衛州) (now Wei-hwi fu, Ho-nan).

62–68. In A.D. 998 triplets (males) were born to Wang Wang (王旺) in the district Yung-ngan (永安), in T'ai-chou (台州) (Che-kiang), to Cheng Hwi (鄭穢), a soldier of the Tsing-jung army (靜戎軍卒), of Shan-chou (澶州) (prefecture of

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Ta-ming, Chi-li); to Hwai Liang (懷 梁), one of the people in the district Shen (莘) (prefecture of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung); to Wang Kwei (王 貴), one of the people in the district Hwo-kia (濩 嘉) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan); to Lo Yen-t'ao (羅 彥 瑫), one of the people in the district Yung-k'ang (永 康) (prefecture of Kin-hwa, Che-kiang); to Yang Jung-p'i (楊 榮 毗), one of the people in the district Wen (溫) (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Wei Ki (魏 吉), one of the people in the district Ling (陵) (prefecture of Tsi-nan, Shan-tung).

69–71. In A.D. 1000 triplets (males) were born to Chu Tsin (朱 進), one of the people in the district Sui (睢) (Kwei-te fu, Ho-nan); to Sü Jao (徐 遶), a soldier of the Wu-wei army (武 威 軍 卒), of Yün chou (鄆 州) (now Yün-ch'eng in the prefecture Ts'ing-chou, Shan-tung); and to P'eng Yüan (彭 遠), one of the people of Shen-chou (深 州) (Chi-li).

72, 73. In A.D. 1001 triplets (males) were born to Kwo Jung (郭 瑩), one of the people in the district Wang-tu (望 都) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li); and to Liang Tsi (梁 濟), a soldier of the Teng-hai army (澄 海 軍 卒), of Yung-chou (邕 州) (prefecture of Nan-ning, Kwang-si).

74. In A.D. 1002 triplets (males) were born to Chao Nien (趙 黏), one of the people in the district Hia-tsin (夏 津) (Shan-tung).

75, 76. In A.D. 1003 triplets (males) were born to Liu Sien (劉 詵), one of the people in the district Shi-ch'eng (石 城) (Kiang-si, another of the same name in Kwang-tung); and to Tai Hing (戴 興), one of the people in the district T'ang-yi (堂 邑) (Kiang-ning fu, Kiang-su).

77. In A.D. 1004 triplets (males) were born to Li Tsung (李 總), one of the people in the district Nan-ch'ang (南 昌) (prefecture of Nan-ch'ang, Kiang-si).

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78. In A.D. 1005 triplets (males) were born to Wei Yung (魏勇), one of the people in the district Fung-sin (奉新) (Nan-ch'ang fu, Kiang-si).

79–81. In A.D. 1007 triplets (males) were born to Chao Jung (趙榮), a workman (匠), of Pa-tso se (八作司); to Jen Teng-lao (任登老), one of the people in the district Na-tun (南頓); and to Chang Sü (張緒), one of the people in the district Tsao-k'iang (棗強) (Chi-li).

82, 83. In A.D. 1009 triplets (males) were born to Chang Liu (張留), one of the people in the district Kwo (虢) (in Tai-chou, Shan-si); and to Yang Ts'üan (楊泉), who served in the army of Ts'ing-p'ing (清平) (Tung-ch'ang fu, Shan-tung).

84, 85. In A.D. 1010 triplets (males) were born to Feng K'o (馮可), one of the people in the district Hwo-kia (獲嘉) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan). Triplets (two males and one female) were born to Li Hwi (李惠), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng (宋城).

86. In A.D. 1011 triplets (males) were born to Feng Shou-k'in (馮守欽), one of the people in the district Ho-ch'i (河池) (K'ing-yüan fu, Kwang-si).

87, 88. In A.D. 1012 triplets (males) were born to Sü Lin (徐璘), a soldier of the Süan-yung army (宣勇軍卒) in the prefecture Ta-ming (大名) (Chi-li); and to Li Chao (李劍), one of the people in the district Tsan-hwang (贊皇) (Chèng-ting fu, Chi-li).

89–92. In A.D. 1014 triplets (males) were born to Li Kien (李謙), one of the people in the district T'ung-ti (銅鞮) (Shan-si); to Pai Te (白德), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng; to Chu Lin (朱璘), one of the people in the district Ho-k'iu (霍丘) (prefecture of Ying-chou, Ngan-hwi); and to Tsiao Se-shun (焦思順), one of the people in the district P'ing-liang (平涼) (Kan-su).

93–99. In A.D. 1015 triplets (males) were born to Sung Tsai-hing (宋再興), one of the people of Ho-nan

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fu ; to Chou Yüan (周元), one of the people in the district Chen-yang (眞陽) (now Cheng-yang (正陽) prefecture of Ju-ning, Ho-nan); to Hou Yen (侯言), a field-laborer of the district Li-t'ing (歷亭) (now Ku-ch'eng (故城), in Ho-kien fu, Chi-li); to Wang Chung (王忠), one of the people of the district Ho-k'iu (霍丘) (Ngan-hwi); to Wei Chi-ts'ung (衛志聰), one of the people of the district Mung-yang (濛陽); to Chang Ki (張吉), a soldier of the Hiao-wu army (驍武軍), of Ting-chou (定州), Chi-li); and to Hwang Tsin (黃進), a soldier of the Hwai-yung army (懷勇軍), of the district Yung-k'iu (雍丘).

100–103. In A.D. 1016 triplets (males) were born to Nie Te (聶德), a soldier of the Hiung-yung army (雄勇軍), of Ts'ao-chou (曹州) (Shan-tung); to Liu Yüan (劉元), one of the people of Ying-chou (瀛州) (Ch'ao-chou fu, Kwang-tung); to Chang Kwei (張貴), one of the people of Li-chou (澧州) (Hu-nan); and to Liu Ki (劉吉), one of the people of Kwang-chou (廣州) (Kwang-tung).

104. In A.D. 1017 triplets (males) were born to Ch'en Pa (陳霸), one of the people of the district Lien-kiang (連江) (Fu-chou fu, Fu-kien).

105, 106. In A.D. 1019 triplets (males) were born to Wen Sin (文信), one of the people of the district Ts'ien-t'ang (錢塘) (Hang-chou fu, Che-kiang); and to Li Ch'eng-yü (李承遇), one of the people of the district of Swi-ngan (遂安) (Yen-chou fu, Che-kiang).

107–109. In A.D. 1020 triplets (males) were born to Tu Ming (杜明), one of the people of the district Hiao-kan (孝感) (Han-yang fu, Hu-pei); to Liu Shun (劉順), one of the people of the district P'ing-ngen (平恩) (Shan-tung); in the seventh month, to Chang Chung (張中), one of the people of the district Lei-yang (耒陽) (Heng-chou fu, Hu-nan). On their foreheads there were white moles, over an inch square, and covered with white hair.

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110. In A.D. 1150 triplets (males) were born to a family of the people [name not given] in the district Chen-fu (眞符) (Shen-si).

For the time from A.D. 1023 to 1126 no list of names is given, but merely a statistical record covering several reign-periods. It is here reproduced in tabular form (*Sung shi*, ch. 62, p. 22b).

Period	Years	Quadruplets (males)	Quadruplets (3 males, 1 female)	Triplets (males)	Triplets (2 males, 1 female)	Total
1023–68	46	2	—	44	1	47
1068–83	15	1	1	84	—	86
1084–99	16	2	—	18	1	21
1100–26	27	1	—	19	—	20
Total	104	6	1	165	2	174
		Quadruplets total 7		Triplets total 167		

While the preceding cases are not recorded in the way of vital statistics, but solely as unusual events, the above table conveys the impression of embracing a fairly accurate register of all multiple births (save twin births) which took place within the span of a century. The proportion of quadruplet to triplet births in this period is 1:23.86. The total of triplet births on record during the Sung epoch, accordingly, is 110+167=277. The total of quadruplet births during the same period is 7 (as shown by the above table)+7 (recorded in the following section)=14. The proportion of quadruplet to triplet births for the entire period of the Sung is 1:19.78; while the proportion for the entire period of Chinese history here considered (A.D. 473–1643) is 1:10.8. This calculation is based on a total of 324 triplets and 30 quadruplets.

There are no multiple births on record in the chapter *Wu hing chi* of the *Kin shi*. The *Yüan shi* (chs. 50, 51), covering the period from 1260 to 1367, contains only 15 cases of triplets (all males), recorded under the years 1261, 1265, 1273, 1285, 1291, 1297, 1300, 1327, 1328, 1335, and

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1363. In the years 1273, 1297, 1335, and 1363, two cases are listed for each year; and it is of especial interest that in two instances we have two cases of triplets in the same family, the interval between the two being in either case given as three years. According to Dr. Puech, to whom we owe excellent studies on the causes of multiple births, the more children a woman has had at close intervals, the more she will be inclined toward these physiological anomalies. Three women admitted in the St. Petersburg Midwives' Institute between 1845–59 in their fifteenth pregnancy had triplets, and each had triplets three times in succession (J. M. Duncan, *Fecundity*, p. 71).

For the period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) we lack official records; but the section *jen i* (人異) of the *T'u shu tsi ch'eng* gives a list of 30 cases of triplet births, extracted from the provincial and local Gazetteers, and covering a period from 1404 to 1626. In 1413, 1515, and 1520, two cases are recorded in each year. In view of the fact that this material is extracted from a number of scattered books, it cannot lay claim to completeness; the figure 30 is certainly much removed from reality, but even if multiplied by 3 or 4, it is left far behind the total of the Sung period. On the whole, the impression prevails that the number of multiple births has steadily been on the decrease from the days of the Sung. This would agree with an anthropological theory to the effect that the phenomenon of multiple births in man represents a survival of or reversal to his former animal state and that with the advance of civilization the number of such births is liable to decline. There may be a correct biological viewpoint in this hypothesis, but it does not account for all facts connected with the phenomenon, and, above all, conflicts with given data and statistics. It is not brought out by the vital statistics of any European country that the frequency of plural births is on the decline; on the contrary, in France, for instance, it is surprisingly high (see below). Further, if that theory were correct, we should naturally anticipate to find the greatest number of multiple births among primitive tribes, which for all we

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know is not the case. Hardly a century has elapsed that records of plural births have been taken in Europe, and this period is too short to allow us to indulge in much speculation on the subject.

According to the Statutes of the Manchu Dynasty (大清會典), it was decreed in 1663 that in the case of a triplet birth or a twin birth of a boy and a girl, if it should occur among the people of the Eight Banners, a special report should be submitted to the Board of Rites (禮部); if it should occur in the provinces, the governer of such province should report to the Board of Rites, which would have to forward it to the Board of Finance (戶部), the latter to grant a premium of five piculs of rice and ten pieces of cloth. In 1674 it was ordered that a special report should be made solely in the case of male triplets, but not in the case of twins or female triplets. In 1684 an edict ordained that in the case of male triplets the Board of Rites and the Board of Finance should submit a joined report to the throne, and that rewards should be authorized in accordance with law. This benevolent attitude toward the energetic propagators of the race was not an innovation of the Manchu, but a heritage of the Ming; for under the Ming we are frequently informed of special grants of food, cloth, and even paper money, made to these involuntary heroes from public funds.

It may hence be inferred that under the Manchu régime a register of male triplets was kept, and presumably is still preserved in the archives of Peking. If it should ever be published, the fact must be borne in mind that female triplets were not officially reported. Meanwhile we are thrown back for that period on the local and provincial Gazetteers, which in the chapter on untoward or abnormal events sometimes record cases of plural births.

To cite a few instances of this kind in the period of the Manchu dynasty—the Gazetteer of Ju-chou in Ho-nan (quoted above) enumerates four cases (all males), which occurred in 1770, 1785, 1824, and 1833. In 1797 a triplet birth occurred in Hwa-yang (prefecture of Ch'eng-tu, Se-ch'wan); the case was reported to the throne, and by

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imperial favor, a picul of rice was granted to the father, Yang Kwo-yü (楊國玉) (*Hwa yang hien chi*, ch. 43, p. 3). The Gazetteer of Mong-chou (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan) cites only two cases for the years 1682 and 1736. Most Gazetteers which I have looked up are disappointing: thus the Gazetteer of Shen-si Province (*Shen-si t'ung chi*) contains only two cases of triplets, recorded for the years 1470 and 1729.

In the Gazetteer of the Prefecture of Sung-kiang, three cases of triplets are recorded between 1367 and 1640 (according to D. J. Macgowan, Cosmical Phenomena Observed in the Neighborhood of Shanghai, *Journal China Branch R. As. Soc.*, II, 1860, p. 74).

The cases of triplets referring to the Sung period and listed in the Gazetteers are usually copied from the *Sung shi*. A few, however, seem to be derived from independent local sources; thus the *Ju-chou ts'üan chi* (汝州全志), published in 1840, gives the case of Chang Mei from Lu-shan under the year 986 in accordance with the Sung Annals, but has a further case concerning a certain Chang Shou (張壽), from Yi-yang (伊陽) (in Ju-chou, Ho-nan), whose wife had male triplets in A.D. 991—not recorded in the *Sung shi*.

The data of the Chinese certainly are defective, and cannot entirely satisfy the anthropologist. We miss, for instance, data concerning the ages of mother and father and order of birth in triplet deliveries (*rang chronologique de l'accouchement* of the French statisticians). Above all, we should desire information as to the vitality and fecundity of the off-spring. What the Chinese may boast of, however, is the fact that they possess lists of plural births for periods of the past when nothing of the kind was ever attempted in any country of Europe. In the vital statistics of France, plural births have been recorded only from 1858; and in no country of Europe did they receive any attention before the nineteenth century (in Berlin from 1825).

The sum of 277 triplet births for the Sung and 324 for the time from the T'ang to the Ming inclusive may seem a

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high figure to the uninitiated; in fact, however, it is strikingly low. During the four years 1907–10 there was in France a total of 327 triplet births; 91, 93, 68, and 75 in the respective years, making a mean average of 81.75 per year (Statistique général de la France, Statistique du mouvement de la population, Paris, 1912, p. 56). There were, accordingly, more triplet births in France during those four years than in China in the course of many centuries. Or, to cite another example, in the period 1835–47, there were in Bavaria 1,050 triplet, 56,062 twin, and 3,413,763 normal births. The frequency of triplets varies in different years and in different countries. In 1855, triplets were produced in Scotland by 11 mothers out of 92,300 births; that is, one in 8,391. Triplet births in Scotland from 1855 to 1901, a period of 47 years, numbered 644, and averaged 116 per million confinements (C. J. Lewis and J. N. Lewis, *Natality and Fecundity*, p. 62). I do not go any further into the question of the frequency of triplets in Europe and the proportion of triplets to twin and normal births, as the Chinese data are not comparable, and as figures of total births are lacking for the Sung period. Judging from our experience, it must be stated, however, that the Chinese data can hardly be complete; but there is no way of correcting or adjusting the figures, which we are simply compelled to take for what they are worth. The reader should not forget that the material furnished by the Chinese Annals is not intended as statistics, but merely as a record of extraordinary events in human life. In order to give a certain perspective to the number of multiple births, some data concerning the population may follow here. According to the calculations of E. Biot (Mémoire sur la population de la Chine, *Journal asiatique*, 1836, p. 461), the population of China under the Sung totaled 43,388,380 in the year 1021, and rose to 100,095,250 in 1102; again in 1223, it amounted to only 63,354,005 (in consequence of the loss of northern China to the Kin). These figures, in all probability, are too high; for they are estimated on the number of families given in the Chinese records, the assumption being made that the mean average of the number

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of individuals in a family is 5, which, in my opinion, is too high a figure.

The total number of triplets recorded for the T'ang and Sung periods is 279. The distribution of sex in this number is as follows: 273 all males, that is, 97.8%; 4 consisting of 2 males aud 1 female, that is, 1.4%; 1 consisting of 1 male and 2 females, that is, 0.04%; and only one consisting of 3 females (0.04%). Again, the 15 triplet births of the Yüen dynasty and the 30 of the Ming are all males exclusively. The above percentages perhaps give an approximate clew to the actual frequency of sex in triplet births, as far as China is concerned.

C. J. Lewis and J. Norman Lewis (*Natality and Fecundity*, p. 61, London, 1906), who base their remarkable study on the birth registers of Scotland for the year 1855, during which year there were 11 triplet births in that country (3 males 5, 3 females 3, 2 males and 1 female 3), offer the following conclusion in regard to the distribution of the sexes: "There is a strong probability that in any given occurrence of triplets the children will all be of the same sex, either all males or all females. If the same ratio held in other nations and in other years, it would amount to a law of triplet production that in over 70 per cent. of cases the newly-born children are all of the same sex."

In the period from 1858 to 1865, there were in France 1,005 triplet and 4 quadruplet births; among the former, there were 280 entirely males, 218 entirely females, 256 consisting of 1 male and 2 females, and 251 consisting of 2 males and 1 female. The number of twin births during the same period amounted to 83,279; of these 28,056 were two males, 26,310 two females, and 29,363 consisting of one male and one female (A. Puech, *Annales d'hygiène publique*, XLI, 1874).

Of the 277 triplets recorded for the Sung period, the social standing of the fathers is given in only 110 cases, while the remaining 167 cases are merely recorded as chronologic-statistical events. Among the 110 cases, the social status of the fathers is distributed as follows:

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		Percentage
Rural population (民) ..	85	76.7
Field-laborers (田 用) ..	1	1.1
Workmen (匠)	1	1.1
Soldiers (兵)	22	20.0
Petty officials (吏)	1	1.1
Total	110	100.0

In the Yüan period, 14 common people and 1 soldier share in the 15 cases of triplets placed on record. In the Ming period, 28 common people and 2 soldiers assume responsibility for 30 cases of triplèts recorded. It will thus be seen that the bourgeoisie, inclusive of officials, gentry, and merchants, has no share in these records. Peasants and laborers, of course, formed the majority of the populace; but there is no reason why triplet births, if they had occurred in the upper classes, should not have been reported or recorded.

In arranging our data according to families, we arrive at the result that the members of the families Li (李), Wang (王), Chang (張), and Liu (劉), take the uppermost rank. The male Lis reach the score with 16^3+1^4, while two female Lis figure with 2^4; in the years 986 and 996 respectively we have two male Lis participating in triplets. The record of the Wangs is 13^3+2^4 (plus one female Wang 1^3); the Changs follow with 9^3+2^4, plus two female Changs (2^3), and the Lius with 9^3+1^4, two members of this family being conspicuous in the same year (1016). This does not mean, of course, that these four families are more prolific than others, but is merely the index of the fact that they are the most numerous and the most widely spread. The share of the members of the Yang (楊) family is expressed by the figure 6^3, that of the Chao (趙) by 5^3 (plus one female Chao 1^3), that of the Cheng (鄭) by 4^3 (plus one female Cheng 1^4). The Fung (馮), Sie (謝), and Sü (徐) have a 3^3 to their credit; the Wei (魏) reach the mark 2^3+1^4; the Kwo (郭) 1^3+1^4, while the Chu (朱), Hou (侯), Kao (高), Mong (孟), and Tung (董), can

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only boast of 2^8 each. All other families are represented but once. These figures certainly have a mere relative value, and do not allow of any far-reaching inferences. It is assumed by anthropologists that the tendency to multiple births is frequently hereditary, both in the male and female line, more frequently in the former than in the latter; and there is no doubt that heredity is a potent cause in the perpetuation of plural births. In the case of triplets and to a still higher degree of quadruplets, the hereditary tendency is particularly striking. Quadruplets often issue from parents who were multiples themselves. Female twins often give birth to twins.

During the 61 years covering our records 1–109 ($=109^8$), the high-water mark is reached in the year 991 with 9^8, and there is only this one year that offers such a record. There are two years (998 and 1015) with 7^8, two years (995 and 996) with 5^8, 4 years (982, 983, 1014, and 1016) with 4^8, 8 years with 3^8, and 11 years with 2^8. In the remaining years there is but 1^8 or 0^8. In the Yüan period we have four years with 2^8.

QUADRUPLETS

Wei Dynasty, A.D. 386–532.

1–4. In A.D. 473 a woman in Siu-jung (秀容) (now Ting-siang, Shan-si) gave birth to four sons four times and thus had 16 sons.—*Wei shu.*

T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 618–906.

5, 6. In A.D. 655 quadruplets (all males) were borne by the wife of Wu Wei (吳威), one of the people of Kao Yüan (高苑) in Tse-chou (淄州) (Shan-tung); and to Hing Tao-hwo (辛道護), one of the people of Kia-chou (嘉州) (now Kia-ting fu, Se-ch'wan). If creation turns away from the regular norm, supernatural phenomena are bound to come forth; if the female element is abundant, the mother's way is fertile.—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21.

7. In A.D. 826 quadruplets (all males) were borne by the wife of Ho Wen (賀文), a man of Yen-chou (延州) (now Yen-ngan fu, Shen-si).

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Sung Dynasty, A.D. 960–1278.

8. In A.D. 982 quadruplets (all males) were born to Liu Si (劉習), one of the people in the district of Yen-men (膺門縣) (Shan-si).

9. In A.D. 1003 the wife of Kwo Jang (郭讓), one of the people in the district P'ing-hiang (萍鄉) (prefecture of Shun-te, Chi-li), gave birth to four sons.

10. In A.D. 1008 the wife of Wang Yen (王言), one of the people in the army of Kao-yu (高郵軍民), brought forth four sons.

11. In A.D. 1015 the wife of Chang Pao (張保), one of the people in the district Yung-kia (永嘉) (Wen-chou fu, Che-kiang), gave birth to four sons.

12, 13. In the period from 1023 to 1068 there were two cases of quadruplet births (all males).

14, 15. In the period from 1068 to 1083 there was one case of a quadruplet birth (males) and another of 3 males and 1 female.

16, 17. In the period from 1084 to 1099 there were two cases of quadruplet births (all males).

18. In the period from 1100 to 1126 there was one case of a quadruplet birth (males).

19. In A.D. 1097 a woman of the people of Süan-ch'eng (宣城) (Ning-kwo fu, Ngan-hwi), brought forth four sons.—宋史哲宗本紀.

20. In A.D. 1099 a woman of the people of Yi-shi (猗氏) in Ho-chung (河中) (Shan-si) brought forth four sons.—*Ibidem.*

21. In A.D. 1118 a woman of the people of Hwang-yen (黃巖) (Tai-chou fu, Che-kiang) brought forth four sons.—宋史徽宗本紀.

Yüan Dynasty, A.D. 1260–1367.

22. In A.D. 1283 the wife of Chang Chou (張丑) of Kao-chou (高州), *née* Li (李), brought forth four children at one birth—three boys and one girl.

23. In A.D. 1297 four males were brought forth at one birth by Ho-li-mi (和里迷), wife of Na Hwai (那

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懷) (Mongols), a falconer (*po-lan-ki*, 孛蘭奚) of Liao-yang (遼陽) (Sheng-king, Manchuria). Regarding the term *po-lan-ki*, see *Yüan shi*, ch. 101, p. 16b.

24. In A.D. 1306 the wife of Fang Ping (方丙) in the district Hu-k'ou (湖口) in Kiang-chou (江州) (Kiang-si), gave birth to four sons.

Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1368–1643.

25. In 1471 the wife of Wei Süan (魏宣), one of the people of the town Ho-yang (郃陽) (T'ung-chou fu, Shen-si), had four sons at one birth.—*Shen-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shen-si Province).

26. In 1543 the wife, *née* Li (李), of Wang Shi (王世), one of the people of K'i (祁) hien (Pao-ting fu, Chi-li), brought forth 3 boys and 1 girl.—*Shan-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shan-si Province).

27. In 1543 the wife of Lu Ngan (陸安), of Heng-chou (橫州) (Nan-ming fu, Kwang-si), brought forth four boys.—*Kwang-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Kwang-si Province).

28. In 1557 quadruplets (males) are recorded in K'ing-yang fu (慶陽府) (Shen-si).—*Ibidem* (no further data are given).

29. In 1583 four girls were born to Li Hwang (李鐄) of Hing-hwa (興化) (Fu-kien).—*Hing-hwa hien chi* (Gazetteer of Hing-hwa).

30. In 1608 two boys and two girls were born to Su Kiu-lang (蘇九郎), a soldier; his wife was *née* Cheng (鄭).—*Fu-kien t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Fu-kien Province).

The 7 cases numbered 12–18 are identical with those given in the statistical table of the Sung period (above, p. 5). It is noteworthy that the three cases under Nos. 19–21 are recorded in the biographies of the emperors, not in the section *Wu hing chi*; it seems that particular importance was attached to them.

In this total of 30, 4 quadruplets fall to the lot of a single woman. Twenty-five out of the number of 30, that is,

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⅚ or 83.33 per cent, consist of males exclusively. The remaining 5 are distributed as follows: 3 cases consisting of 3 males and 1 female (10 per cent), 1 case being 2 males and 2 females (3.33 per cent) and 1 case being 4 females (3.33 per cent).

In 1907 two quadruplet births in France produced 5 males and 3 females; in 1908 there was one quadruplet birth of 4 boys; in 1909 three quadruplet births produced 10 boys and 2 girls; and in 1910, there was one quadruplet birth of 2 males and 2 females (*Statistique du mouvement de la population*, p. 56).

The period covered by the above 30 cases ranges from A.D. 473 to 1608; that is, a span of 1,136 years.

For the 7 cases Nos. 12–18 no personal data are on record; in a single case of the Ming period the father's social status is not indicated. In the remaining 22 cases we find 2 soldiers, 1 falconer, and 19 common people, in all probability, farmers. Again, we accordingly meet here with the same social status of the parents as in the case of triplets.

As to the relative proportion of quadruplet to triplet births, see above, p. 5.

Pliny (VII, 3, §33) records the example of a quadruplet birth of two males and two females toward the end of the reign of Augustus and ascribed to Fausta, a Plebeian woman of Ostia (*Fausta quaedam e plebe Ostiae*).

QUINTUPLETS

It is striking and worthy of especial mention that the Chinese Annals do not record a single example of a quintuplet birth; at least I have failed in tracing any. Both Aristotle and Pliny were convinced of such an occurrence. Aristotle (*Historia animalium*, transl. of D'Arcy W. Thompson, p. 584b) states: "Some animals produce one and some produce many at a birth, but the human species does sometimes the one and sometimes the other. As a general rule and among most nations the women bear one child at a birth; but frequently and in many lands they bear twins, as

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for instance in Egypt especially. Sometimes women bring forth three and even four children, and especially in certain parts of the world. The largest number ever brought forth is five, and such an occurrence has been witnessed on several occasions. There was once upon a time a certain woman who had twenty children at four births; each time she had five, and most of them grew up." Pliny (VII, 3, § 33) has it that in the Peloponnesus a woman was delivered of five children at a birth four successive times, and that the greater part of these survived *(Reperitur et in Peloponneso quinos quater enixa, maioremque partem ex omni eius vixisse partu)*— perhaps the same event alluded to by Aristotle.

Nijhoff, in his interesting study "Vijflinggeboorten" (Groningen, 1904, 4°) has fully described and figured a case vhich came under his notice. He further reviews from literary records 29 more cases of quintuplet births, one of which only seems to be of doubtful authenticity. Cf. also S. Shishido, "The Birth of Five Infants at One Parturition" *(Iji Shinbun*, Tokyo, 1901, pp. 433–438).

SEXTUPLETS

In regard to sextuplets, I have found only two cases on record. According to the Gazetteer of Chi-li Province *(Ki fu t'ung chi)*, it was in 1574 that a woman of the people of Fei-hiang (肥鄉) (in Kwang-p'ing fu, Chi-li) brought forth six children at one birth (一產六子). The name of the woman and the husband is not given. The other case is reported in the *Sü K'ien shu* (續黔書) (ch. 5, p. 8), a record of Kwei-chou Province, written by Chang Chu (張澍), in 1805. In a certain village of western Kwei-chou a woman, *née* Wang (王氏), gave birth to six sons at one time, both children and mother being well. The author, however, had this merely from hearsay.

Nijhoff (p. 66) reports the case of a sextuplet birth in a peasant family at Castagnola near Lugano (Italy) in 1888 (4 males, 2 females, who were alive at the time of birth, but died in a few seconds) and another from Alburi on the Gold Coast

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in Africa after Dr. H. Vortisch of the Basle Mission. In the latter case a Negro woman is said to have been delivered of 5 boys and 1 girl, who for lack of care died shortly; the woman stated that it was her fifth deliverance, at the second she had twins, at the third quadruplets, and at the fourth triplets. An Italian woman, who in the fifth month of pregnancy miscarried, expelled six fœtuses; the truthfulness of this report is generally conceded (J. Parvin, *Science and Art of Obstetrics*, 3d ed., p. 161). Other cases of sextuplet delivery are described in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XXXV, 2, 1847; and by J. W. Kerr and H. Cookman, *Med. Pres. and Circ.*, LXXV, p. 537, London, 1903: five boys and one girl. Cf. also Shishido, Examination of the Records of More than Five Infants at a Birth *(Iji Shinbun*, Tokyo, 1901, pp. 1890–1901).

SEPTUPLETS

The Gazetteer of Chi-li Province *(Ki-fu t'ung chi)* has it on record that in 1527 a woman, *née* Ch'en (陳 氏), of Ho-kien (Chi-li) was delivered of seven girls at one birth (一 孕 七 女), but that none of them survived. According to Trogus, there was a case of seven children at one birth in Egypt *(Et in Aegypto septenos uno utero simul gigni auctor est Trogus.*—Pliny, VII, 3, §33). Cases of septuplet birth are mentioned by Roy (Couches avec 7 foetus, in *Revue médicale française et étrangère*, Paris, 1877, I, p. 225); cf. also R. C., Multiple Pregnancy with a Vengeance *(Med. Rec.*, LXIII, p. 267, New York, 1903).

It is reported in verse on a tombstone of Hameln that on January 9, 1600, two boys and five girls were born to Thiele Roemer and Anna Breyers. The tombstone is adorned with a sculptured scene which shows six babes in swaddling-clothes on a pillow, while the lucky(?) father holds the seventh on his arm toward the Savior. Nijhoff (pp. 71, 72), who has reproduced the tombstone, holds that the question is here of a veritable fact, as at that time no mockery was made of religious subjects. I am far from sharing this opinion. It is well known that the Germans have displayed a great deal of

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fun and humor on their epitaphs, collections of which have been made. The tombstone itself does not suffice to bear out the historicity of the case. It would be necessary to trace it in the parish-register, death-lists, or any other documents in the archives of the town of Hameln ; but this evidence, as far as I know, has not yet come forward.

A case of eight children at a birth, as far as I know, is nowhere on record, but the following curious passage occurs in the book *Cosmographie de Levant* (p. 114, Lyon, 1554) by F. André Thevet d'Angoulesme: "Non seulement ce pays abonde en fruits, et herbes: mais aussi en fleurs odorifferentes, Les femmes y sont tant fecondes, qu'elles engendrent communement trois, et quatre, et bien souvent huit enfans : et encores qu'ils naissent au huitieme mois, ils vivent : ce qu'aucuns attribuent à la bonté du Nil: Outreplus elles surengendroient, (comme Pline raconte d'une femme d'Alexandrie) ce qui nest pas tant signe de merveille, que argument de fecondité." Thevet is doubtless influenced by the passage of Pliny, and is somewhat inclined toward exaggerations. I doubt very much that a case of octoplets has ever come under his actual experience: his statement is generalized, but no reference is made to a specific case.

UNITED TWINS

The Chinese Annals have preserved a few cases of twins grown together at birth. In this case, the question naturally is of twins produced from a single ovum.

In the fourth year of the period Kien-hing (建興) (A.D. 316), under the Emperor Min (愍帝), of the Tsin dynasty, a woman of the family Hu (胡), when she was at the age of twenty-five, the wife of Jen Kiao (任僑), a minor official (clerk) in the district of Sin-ts'ai (新蔡) (prefecture of Ju-ning, Ho-nan), gave birth to female twins grown together in the region of the abdomen and the heart, but separated above the breast and beneath the navel.—*Sung shu*, ch. 34, p. 28.

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In A.D. 487 (under the Emperor Wu of the Ts'i dynasty) the wife of Wu Hiu (吳休), one of the people of Tung-ts'ien (東遷), in Wu-hing (吳興) (now Hu-chou fu, Che-kiang), gave birth to male twins grown together below the chest down to above the navel.—*Nan Ts'i shu*, ch. 19, p. 16b.

In the fourth month of the third year of the period Yi-fung (儀鳳) (A.D. 678) King-chou (涇州) (Kan-su) presented the Court with two infants the hearts of which were connected, but each with a separate body (二小兒連心異體). Formerly it had happened that the wife, *née* Wu (吳), of Hu Wan-nien (胡萬年), a soldier of the guard in the district Shun-ku (鶉觚) (Kan-su), gave birth to twins, a male and a female, whose breasts were connected, but who, for the rest, had individual bodies; when separated, both died. At a subsequent birth it was thus again. The twins were boys, and were brought up. In the above-mentioned year they had reached the age of four years, and were presented to the Court.—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21.

In A.D. 1610, the wife of Li Yi-ch'en (李宜臣), of Fan-ki (繁峙) (in Tai-chou, Shan-si), *née* Niu (牛氏), brought forth two girls with their heads and faces grown together, but with separate arms and legs.—*Shan-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shan-si Province).

Two Chinese twins grown together, born in 1887, were shown by Barnum and Bailey in 1902, and at that time were still unseparated and well. Cf. R. Virchow, Xiphodymie (*Z. Ethn.*, 1891, pp. 366–370).

The modern Gazetteers occasionally record the birth of twins, not, however, on account of any special interest attached to the fact itself, but merely in order to emphasize the interest in the vitality of twins (cf. W. A. Macnaughton, The Longevity of Twins, *Caledon. M.J.*, X, pp. 127–129, Glasgow, 1915). The following examples from the Gazetteer of Hwa-yang (*Hwa-yang hien chi*, ch. 43, p. 4) will suffice to illustrate this feature.

The wife of Chu Ch'ang-hwa (朱昌華), *née* Lin (林氏), had 14 sons, among these 2 pairs of twins, who did not die prematurely, but are still alive (俱存無殀).

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The wife of Chung Se-kin (鍾思謹), *née* Tsou (鄒氏), had 9 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The wife of Chung Chao-kin (鍾超錦), *née* Chang (張氏), had 9 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The wife of Li Ch'ao-kung (李朝恭), *née* Lin (林氏), had 8 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The preceding article discloses the fact that a department of vital statistics, either in connection with the Government or as a private enterprise, is urgently required for China. The motive which principally guided me in writing this notice was to demonstrate by a concrete example the necessity of founding such an institution. It goes without saying that a statistical research into the population of China would mean a considerable advance of our knowledge from which the economists and sociologists all the world over might learn and benefit, and that the Chinese would yield the most fruitful material for all problems of heredity and eugenics. It is particularly genealogical research that could be carried on in China with most promising results. Another problem which is much on my heart is that of longevity and the average duration of a generation among the Chinese and the Japanese; and if nothing interferes, I hope to make a small contribution to this question in the near future.

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A NOTE ON THE YUNG LO TA TIEN

BY

LIONEL GILES

In response to the Editor's appeal, published in the first number of this REVIEW, I have examined such volumes of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* as were accessible to me in England, and noted down some particulars of their contents. It is to be hoped that a similar description of other volumes which have fallen into private hands, or been presented to libraries and museums in various parts of the world, will soon be forthcoming.

It may not be generally known that, although the body of the Encyclopædia was allowed to remain in manuscript until its destruction in 1900, the 目錄, index or table of contents, was printed to form part of the 連筠簃叢書, *Lien yün i ts'ung shu*, a collection of thirty works which I believe is still obtainable in China. A copy of this Index is now in the possession of H. E. the Chinese Minister in London, who has been kind enough to lend it to me. Unfortunately, the first *pên* is missing, an imperfection which is the more regrettable because one might reasonably expect to find in it some sort of preface or other preliminary matter; nevertheless a few words about this printed Index may fitly precede the description of particular volumes.

It consists of 60 *chüan* in 20 *pên*, each *chüan* containing some 20 to 30 leaves, and is very clearly printed in

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good-sized type. There are ten columns to the page, and as a rule a single column, though sometimes two or more, are allotted to each *chüan* of the Encyclopædia, there being 22,877 *chüan*[1] in all, exclusive of the table of contents in 60 *chüan*. It is thus obvious that but scanty details as to the actual contents of this mighty work can be looked for in the Index; under all the more important words, however, there occurs the sub-head 事 韻 (a term which seems to include definitions, pronunciation, ancient forms, etc.), often followed by 詩 文 (extracts from literature in prose and verse) and 姓 氏 (surnames with biographical information about eminent persons). In many cases, too, and especially when the character dealt with extends over a number of *chüan*, the principal works laid under contribution are named, or the general contents indicated.

It needs but a cursory inspection to discover that the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, as its name indeed implies, is rather a gigantic dictionary than an encyclopædia in the usual sense of the word.[2] Its framework is similar to that of the later 佩 文 韻 府, *P'ei wên yün fu*, containing as it does all the characters of the language arranged under a series of rhymes and treated singly and in combination, each phrase being illustrated by extracts from the literature of the past. As differences, on the other hand, we may note that

(1) The rhyme series is not the one adopted in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, but is taken from the 洪 武 正 韻, *Hung wu chêng yün*. Here the rhymes are distributed under four tone-groups only, namely 平 (23 rhymes), 上 (23), 去 (23), and 入 (11), making 80 rhymes in all.[3]

(2) The *Yung Lo Ta Tien* is planned on a much vaster scale. The number of works quoted is not, perhaps, very much greater, but the extracts are as a rule far longer,

(1) The 明 史, *Ming Shih*, ch. 98, says 22,900. The other figure, however, appears in the (表) official report presented by 姚 廣 孝, Yao Kuang-hsiao, on the completion of the work. The *pên* numbered 11,995, according to the *Tz'ŭ Yüan;* this, however, may be a slip for 11,095, the figure given in 七 修 類 藁, *Ch'i hsiu lei kao*, ch. 17, fol. 5vo.

(2) In the *Ming Shih*, loc. cit., it is incorrectly classed as a 類 書.

(3) The table of rhymes for both works is appended to this article.

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and extensive works are frequently transcribed *in toto*. The total number of characters dealt with is also several times as large, though many of them, it is true, are very rare, and therefore briefly dismissed, *e.g.*, under the rhyme 齊 we find 133 words in the *P'ei wên yün fu* and 585 in the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. The space sometimes devoted to a single word is truly stupendous. Thus, there are no fewer than 798 *chüan* under 朱—a regular encyclopædia in itself!

(3) There is more looseness in the arrangement, and no strict principle is observed in the order of the phrases. Those consisting of four words now and then occur among those consisting of two.

Although the manuscript must have been the work of a great many different copyists, the handwriting in all the volumes which I have examined is on the whole very uniform. The style, of course, is 楷書, but not, so far as I can judge, of any special calligraphic merit. Large characters are used for all the headings. Each page is framed in red, and divided into eight partitions, each containing two columns of well-spaced manuscript, with 28 characters to a column, and room for two more at the top. The titles of the works cited are also written in red, making it very easy to ascertain the contents of a page at a glance. In these respects the manuscript of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* is much preferable to the small, cramped printing, with the titles enclosed in *cartouches*, of the *P'ei wên yün fu*. When commentary is given, it is written in smaller characters, but not in double columns. The paper is described as 硬面宣紙, *i.e.*, paper manufactured at Hsüan-ch'êng in Anhwei, with a hard surface.

On the cover of each volume (which is of thin pasteboard covered with coarse yellow silk) there are, or should be, two labels, the larger one rectangular, bearing the title 永樂大典, and the numbers of the *chüan*, the smaller one square-shaped, containing the rhyme-character, its number in the tone group, and another serial number showing what place the *volume* occupies under the rhyme in question. Each volume contains usually one or two, but sometimes as many as three or four *chüan*.

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On a fly-leaf at the end of every volume are inscribed the names of the officials responsible for the copying of that particular volume. These are always six in number:

(1) The first bears the title 重鐫總校官侍郎, "General Director or Supervisor of the Board of Re-issue."

(2) The second is a 學士, or Member of the Same Board.

(3) The third is 分校官, Reviser in Detail, holding the special rank of 編修, or 侍讀, or 修撰, or 檢討, or 中允, or 洗馬.

(4) The fourth official, who seems to have been the actual copyist, is in most cases styled 書寫儒士; but in the volume containing ch. 19,735 he is 寫書官序班.[1]

(5) and (6) 圈點監生. These individuals supplied the punctuation and tone-marks, represented in the present work by small red circles which were evidently impressed, not described with a brush.

The following table shows the names of these officials in each volume where the list has been preserved:

Chüan	1	2	3	4		
7515-6	高拱	胡正蒙	晏強臨	成瑞禎琦鳳涇呂泰奇冕鳳棟	私春浩	瘸愚學
7677	,,	,,	自大	灑鳴夢 應 尤國一 一	克莊 ,,承汝 汝 民道	陽性成 ,,陽 仲世仲世于汝 ,, 希世
8021	,,	,,	呂馬陶	楊呂張金孫林王陳曹周王張	徐李徐 蔣馬林散林散林傳	歐霽曲 歐吳董孫董孫董許
10135-6	,,	,,				
10460	,,	,,				
11368-9	,,	,,				
11887-8	,,	,,				
11903-4	,,	,,				
13498-9	張鳴鳳	王大任				
13629	,,	,,				
13876-8	,,	,,				
14385	,,	,,				
14622	,,	,,				
19735	陳以勤	,,				
19789-90	,,	,,				
20139	,,	,,				
20850-1	,,	,,				

(1) The 序班 were Ushers attached to the 鴻臚寺, Court of State Ceremonial. Originally 50 in number, they were reduced to 42 in 1557, and raised again to 48 in 1583. (*Ming Shih*, ch. 74.)

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It would appear from the above that the whole work was parcelled out among three Senior Superintendents: Kao Kung (see Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, 955) was entrusted with the first and second tone-groups (ch. 1–10034 and 10035–12209); Ch'in Ming-lei[1] with the third (ch. 12210–19598); and Ch'ên I-ch'in[2] with the fourth (ch. 19599–22877).

As regards the history of the Encyclopædia, we read in the 四庫全書總目, *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*,[3] or Imperial Catalogue, that the Emperor 成祖, Ch'êng Tsu, ordered its compilation in the 7th moon of the 1st year of *Yung-lo* (July–Aug., 1403), the general editor being 解縉, Hsieh Chin, with a staff of 147 assistants. In December of the following year the work was laid before His Majesty, who bestowed upon it the title 文獻大成, *Wen hsien ta ch'êng*. Its dimensions, however, were not considered satisfactory, the material collected being far from complete. By a second edict, therefore, Yao Kuang-hsiao and 劉季篤, Liu Chi-ch'ih, were associated with Hsieh Chin as Co-Directors, and the Commission enlarged to a total of 2,169 men. The work was finally announced as complete in December, 1407, and its title changed to *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, the Emperor himself writing the preface. At the same time, orders were given that a copy should be made for the block-cutter. This was ready in the 10th moon (Nov.–Dec.) of 1409; but the expense of printing was found to be so enormous that the idea was abandoned; and when the capital was shifted to Peking in 1421, the volumes were stored in the 文樓, afterwards called the 宏義閣, Hung-i Pavilion, attached to

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(1) T. 子讓. The younger brother of Ch'in 嗚夏, Ming-hsia. In 1544 he came out first on the list for the degree of *Chin-shih*, and was awarded the post of 修撰. Afterwards he became President of the Board of Rites at Nanking.

(2) T. 逸甫. He took the degree of *Chin-shih* in 1541, and held many high offices, becoming President of the Board of Rites in 1567, the year when the copying of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* was completed. He died at the age of 76, and was canonized as 文端.

(3) Ch. 137, fol. 24 *seq.*

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the Palace.[1] In 1562, a commission of 100 scholars, headed by 程道南, Ch'êng Tao-nan, was appointed to make two complete copies, and the practical supervision entrusted to Kao Kung and 張居正, Chang Chü-chêng (*Biog. Dict.*, No. 41). In 1567, the original was returned to Nanking, while the first copy was kept in the 文淵閣, Wên-yüan Pavilion, and the second in the 皇史宬, Library of Imperial Historiography. At the downfall of the dynasty (明祚既傾) the original and the second copy both perished by fire; and the first copy, wanting 2422 *chüan*, was removed at an unspecified date to the Han-lin College.

So far the Imperial Catalogue.[2] Another account, which brings down the history of the work to the present day, and is in several points at variance with the above, is given in the 辭源, *T'zŭ Yüan*, 巳 p. 14:

"In 1562, the Forbidden City caught fire, but the encyclopædia [then lying, as we have seen, in the 文樓] luckily escaped destruction. 世宗, Shih Tsung, however, now ordered Kao Kung, Chang Chü-chêng and others to select a body of scribes and prepare two copies of the work. The original was subsequently kept at Nanking, while the first copy was housed in the Wên-yüan Pavilion and the second copy in the Imperial Historiographers' Library [at Peking]. In the middle of the Ming period (明之中葉) the original work at Nanking was destroyed by fire; and the first copy, in Peking being defective by 2422 *chüan*, was transferred by 世祖, Shih Tsu [1644–1661] of the Ch'ing dynasty to the 乾清宮, Ch'ien-ch'ing Palace. The latter was burned down in 1797, and the first copy shared its fate. The second copy, which was stored in the Han-lin College, survived the perils of 1860, but was gradually diminished by losses [doubtless due to pilfering officials]. When examined in 1875, it

(1) Wylie, "Notes," p. 186, refers this statement to the copy prepared for printing; but in that case nothing is said as to the location of the original. It is more likely that the copy was left behind at Nanking.

(2) See *China Review*, VI, p. 215; also an article by Professor H. A. Giles, entitled "Encyclopædia Maxima," which was published in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, 1901, p. 659.

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comprised fewer than 5,000 volumes [that is, less than half the original number], and in the following year the number had fallen to not much over 3,000. In 1893 only 600 or so remained, and after 1900 there were only 300 odd. In the Revolution of 1911, many of these again were dispersed, and those that have now been transferred to the Ministry of Education and the 圖書館, *T'u Shu Kuan* (a public library), amount to no more than 60 volumes."[1]

The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* is, of course, quite a recent publication; and it is hard to believe that its authors would have thus discarded the authority of the Imperial Catalogue unless they had some fresh evidence to support their assertions. Another curious discrepancy in the two accounts is the number of works which were recovered for the *Ssŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu* from the pages of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. The *Tz'u Yüan* says 492, although the Catalogue is quite explicit on the point: 經 66, 史 41, 子 103, 集 175; total 385.

The information concerning the Han-lin copy, if it can be relied upon, is extremely interesting. For it appears that the work suffered far more from the stealthy depredations of generations of officials than at the hands of the Boxers, who have generally been condemned for an act of supreme vandalism. Those who tried gallantly, but in vain, to save the Encyclopædia on June 23rd, 1900, will be relieved to learn that only a few hundred volumes (the merest fraction of the whole) were still sheltered by the walls of the Han-lin College when the building was burned down.[2]

The volumes that I have personally inspected are 26 in number: 11 forming part of the Backhouse collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 6 in the Oriental Department of

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(1) According to M. Aurousseau, there are 60 vols. in the *T'u Shu Kuan*, and 4 in the library of the Ministry of Education.

(2) 繆荃孫, Miao Ch'üan-sun, remarks at the end of his edition of the 奉天錄, *Feng t'ien lu*, that, when employed in the 史館, office of Historiography, he read over 600 volumes of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, and adds that "the original work comprised 10,000 and some tens of volumes, whereas now only a few over 900 remain." See B.E.F.E.O., IX, 828.

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the British Museum, 1 in the London Library, 1 in the School of Oriental Studies, London, and 7 formerly in the possession of Messrs. Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street, London, which I understand were purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啓超), on his visit to England in the summer of 1919. These seven volumes had left the country before I had leisure to examine them thoroughly. A few notes on five volumes, containing ch. 13344–5, 16343–4, 19742–3, 19789–90 (this volume is now in the British Museum) and 19792, will be found in the "Nineteenth Century" article referred to above.

CHÜAN 6641. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 陽 (18th of 1st tone-group).

Contents: 鄉, Village. Beginning with a series of phrases, (鄉儀, 鄉約, 鄉勸, 鄉校, 鄉飲, 鄉射), and ending with first part of 詩文. Extracts chiefly from a number of literary collections, most of them now lost, but not of any great interest.

26 fols.

Labels on cover missing, also list of copyists at end of volume.

CHÜAN 7515–6. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 陽.

Contents: 倉, Granary. The names of various granaries, beginning with 上供倉. Extracts from topographical works.

13+21 fols.

Wrong label on cover, giving the *chüan* as 18203–6, which deal with 將 and 醬, according to the Index. This shows, incidentally, that a volume sometimes contained as many as 4 *chüan*.

CHÜAN 7677. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 庚 (19th of 1st tone-group).

Contents: 庚, 5th section of 盤庚, *P'an Kêng*, the 7th book of 商書, in the *Shu Ching*. Text and commentaries given.

30 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

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CHÜAN 8021. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 庚.

Contents: 烝, 3rd part of 骨蒸證治, *Ku chêng chêng chih*, a medical work on the treatment of a bone disease. This takes up the greater part of the volume. The following characters are then dealt with: 烝, 脊, 脞, 浈, 隕, 征, 怔, 眐, 蓋, 篜, 郎, 掮, 征, 於, 祉, 妊, 灶, 証, 帋, 耳, 媜, 寘, 諴, 拼, 敕, 承, 冂, 遳, 鉦, 庭, 怮, 瘇.

26 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 10135–6. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 紙 (2nd of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 史, sections 7 and 8 of 歷代諸史, dynastic histories. Ch. 10135 deals with 南史, 北史, 後周書, and 隋書; ch. 10136 with 唐書. A full table of contents for each work is included.

20+17 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 10460. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 濟 (4th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 禮, first section dealing with 周禮, *Chou li*.

36 fols.

Wrong label on cover, indicating *chüan* 20428, which deals with 稷, 3rd part of 益稷篇, *I chi p'ien*.

CHÜAN 11368–9. London Library. Presented by Mr. C. W. Campbell.

Rhyme 產 (11th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 簡, sections 16 and 17 of 書簡. These are short letters taken from the collected literary works (集) of various authors. The greater portion of ch. 11368 is taken up with letters of 蘇東坡, Su Tung-p'o, while the whole of ch. 11369 is extracted from 宋李端叔姑溪集, *Sung li tuan shu ku ch'i chi*, "Collected works of the Sung writer Li Tuan-shu, whose appellation was Ku-ch'i."

20+24 fols.

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Labels on cover missing, This volume is in rather a damaged condition.

CHÜAN 11887–8. British Museum, Or. 6814. Bought from Messrs. Luzac & Co., April, 1907.

Rhyme 養 (18th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 黨, sections 1 and 2 dealing with 慶元黨. Ch. 11887 contains the whole of the 慶元黨禁, *Ch'ing yüan tan ching*, "Prohibition of the Ch'ing-yüan Party," an historical work of considerable interest which ought to be reprinted. *Ch'ing-yüan* was the year-title for 1195–1201 A.D., and the political party referred to, which included the famous 朱熹, Chu Hsi, as well as 蔡元定, Ts'ai Yüan-ting, was accused of propagating false doctrines and placed under an Imperial interdict in September, 1196. Ch. 11888 continues on the same subject, with an extract from 四朝聞見錄, *Ssŭ ch'ao wên chien lu*. Afterwards come a large number of phrases: 酒黨, 阿黨, 私黨, etc., 黨正, with text from the *Chou li*, and literary (文) pieces, take up several pages, and the volume ends with 上黨, 黨州, and 黨氏.

17+19 fols.

Small label missing from cover.

CHÜAN 11903–4. British Museum, Or. 7616. Presented by Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, November, 1911.

Rhyme 養 (37th vol. under this rhyme).

Contents: 廣. Ch. 11903 begins with extracts from *Hung wu chêng yün* and other dictionaries, giving pronunciation, definitions, and various modes of writing the character in 篆, 隸, 眞, 行 and 草書. Under 漢廣 is quoted the Ode of that name (*Shih Ching*, I. i. 9), with long commentaries extending over 16 fols. 4 fols. are similarly devoted to 河廣 (*Shih Ching*, I. v. 7). Three loose slips indicates that the passages taken from 李恕音訓, *Li shu yin hsün*, and 詩傳纂註, *Shih chuan ts'uan chu* (fol. 13 r.°), and 李簡學詩備忘, *Li chien hsüeh shih pei wang* (fol. 15 v.°), were copied for the Imperial Catalogue of Ch'ien Lung. Ch. 11904 is mostly occupied with 百丈廣錄, a

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phrase illustrated from the Buddhist work 古尊宿語錄, *Ku tsun su yü lu.* [百丈, Po-chang, was a famous priest of the latter part of the 8th century.] Under 湖廣, Hu-kuang, there is a list of provincial officials, 郡邑 (that is, *fu* and *hsien*), census records,[1] military garrisons, etc., from 國朝諸司職掌, *Kuo ch'ao chu ssŭ chih chang.*

Kwangsi and Kwangtung, on the other hand, are only accorded very meagre notices.

29 + 17 fols.

CHÜAN 13494–5. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 寘 (2nd of 3rd tone-group).

Contents of ch. 13494: 智, 2nd part of 詩文; 智州, Chih-chou; and biographies. Ch. 13495: 緻, 致 (with 詩文), and 置.

CHÜAN 13498–9. Deposited in the British Museum by the Rev. A. C. Moule, after having passed through the hands of Messrs. B. G. Tours, A. J. Sundius, and G. E. Moule.

Rhyme 寘 (125th vol.).

Contents: 制. Both *chüan* are devoted to 除官制, "Regulations for the appointment of officials, parts 1 and 2." [除官 is practically equivalent to 拜 or 授官. Cf. 夢溪筆談, *Mêng Ch'i pi t'an:* 除拜官職謂除其舊籍, 不然也, 除猶易也, 以新易舊曰除. "The idea that *Ch'u pai kuan chih* means dismissal from a previous sphere of jurisdiction is incorrect. *Ch'u* is similar in sense to *i*, and means exchanging an old post for a new."]

Passages are drawn from various 集, many of which are quoted more than once, *e.g.*, 宋劉攽彭城集, "Literary remains of the Sung writer Liu Pan, whose appellation was P'êng-ch'êng."

28 + 21 fols.

CHÜAN 13506–7. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 寘.

(1) The 戶, households, number 775,851 and the 口, individuals, 4,702,660. But the returns of population under the Ming dynasty are notoriously unreliable.

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Contents of ch. 13506: 制, part 9 of 除官制 (see preceding entry).

Ch. 13507: 彙官制, "Regulations for the Holding of Plural Appointments," part 1.

CHÜAN 13629, School of Oriental Studies, London.

Rhyme 寘 (199th vol.).

Contents: 世. The main heading is 皇極經世書, part 30 (out of 45), but there is much sub-division: 觀物篇, 47, under which we have 辰日聲入之一闢 and 石水音閉之一清. The actual contents of the volume consist of 閉音清和律, 工 (1–12) and 入聲闢唱呂, 工 (1–10). These are apparently tables of musical notation, but I cannot make top or tail of them.

31 fols.

CHÜAN 13876–8. British Museum, Or. 6814.

Bought from Messrs. Luzac & Co., April, 1907.

Rhyme 末 (3rd of 3rd tone-group; 13th vol.).

Contents of ch. 13876: 賁, 5th section dealing with 賁卦, the *pi* diagram in the 易經, *I Ching*. Extracts from 鬼谷卦影, *Kuei ku kua ying*, and other works. On the last fol., three other characters are dealt with: 邲, 貶, and 柴. Pasted inside the front cover is a printed form, dated the 18th day of the 11th moon of the 38th year of Ch'ien Lung [31st Dec., 1773], showing that the extracts from 澹齋文集, *T'an chai wên chi*, on fol. 7, and 忘筌書, *Wang ch'üan shu*, on fol. 11, were copied for the Imperial Catalogue. There is also a slip with the names of the copyists.

Ch. 13877–8; 痹; 諸痹證治, "Treatment of Various Forms of Paralysis." Prescriptions excerpted from a large number of medical works. [痹, *pi*, is explained in 新字典, *Hsin Tzŭ Tien*, as "a disease of the nervous system (神經病), characterised by loss of sensation in the limbs, which become heavy and unable to move. There is 麻痹 and 痿痹; the former term is used for superficial numbness, the latter for want of power in the muscles and sinews. In olden times, the disease was believed to be caused by wind, cold, and damp; hence the expressions 風痹, etc." Correct

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Giles' Dictionary, 8985, which gives "rheumatism" as the first meaning.]

13+25+24 fols.

CHÜAN 13991. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 未.

Contents: 戲, 27th section of 戲文, Dramatic literature. The plays included in this volume are 小孫屠彈協狀元, *Hsiao sun t'u chang hsieh chuang yüan*, and 宦門子弟錯立身, *Huan mên tz'ŭ ti t'so li shên.*

CHÜAN 14385. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 霽 (4th of 3rd tone-group).

Centents: 冀, 2nd section dealing with 冀州, Chi-chou, one of the nine provinces of Yü the Great, corresponding roughly to Chihli and Shansi. There is a long quotation from a work, now lost, entitled 宋薛季宣地理叢考, "Collected Geographical Researches, by Hsieh Chi-hsüan of the Sung dynasty," which might be worth reprinting. Further entries are 冀縣, 冀氏, 冀傷, 冀禹錫, and 赤冀.

27 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 14622. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 暮 (6th of 3rd tone-group).

Contents: 部, 9th section dealing with 吏部. The whole volume is taken up with 吏部條法, "Regulations of the Board of Civil Office."

33 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 14627. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 暮.

Contents: 部, 14th section dealing with 吏部. Again the "Regulations of the Board of Civil Office" occupy the whole volume.

37 fols.

Labels on cover missing, also list of copyists.

CHÜAN 19735. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 屋 (1st of 4th tone-group; 76th vol.).

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Contents: 錄, 8th section (out of 9) of 曾公遺錄, "Notes left by Mr. Tsêng."

30 fols.

CHÜAN 19781–2. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 屋 (105th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19781: 局, 4th section of 諸局沿革, followed by 事韻, (part 1). Ch. 19782: 局; 事韻 (part 2), 詩文, and 道書法局式. The following characters are also dealt with: 跼, 芻, 騶, 鞠, 匊, 耟, 軠, 傒, 鶁, 鼁, 侷, 鶋, 拱, 斎, 鬲, 菜, 裘, 趜, 踘, 鶵, 鵴, 雛, 鯞, 蜘, 琱, 局, 舌, 棗, 耦, 缸, 冐, 胸, 胸, 哥, 琛, 趜, 綢, 梂, 屐, 麼.

CHÜAN 19783–4. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 屋 (106th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19783: 伏 (with 事韻).

Ch. 19784: 伏 (with biographies), 虙, and 宓 (with biographies).

CHÜAN 19789–90. British Museum, Or. 5982.

Presented, April 2, 1901, by Mr. Lancelot Giles.

Rhyme 屋 (109th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19789: 服, 2nd section on 元服, Ceremonial Caps. [The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says: 元首也, 冠者首之所著, 故曰元服, "*Yüan* means 'head.' Caps are what are worn on the head; hence they are called head-dress."]

The work quoted is entitled 皇太子加元服, "Donning of the Ceremonial Cap by the Heir to the Throne."

Ch. 19790: 朝服, "Court Dress."

19+18 fols.

The volume has been rebound in half morocco.

CHÜAN 20139. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 質 (2nd of 4th tone-group; 40th vol.).

Contents: 日, 25th section dealing with 諸家選日, "Lucky days, as selected by various schools of divination."

30 fols.

Large label missing on cover.

CHÜAN 20478–9. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 質.

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Contents of both *chüan*: 職, Official Duties, parts 1 and 2 of 事韻.

CHÜAN 20648–9. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 質.

Contents: 易, sections 92 and 93 of 易書, "Books Dealing with the System of Changes," which occupy ch. 20557–20719 inclusive.

CHÜAN 20850–1. British Museum, Or. 8159.

Presented, January, 1917, by Mr. E. Gordon Lowder.

Rhyme 質.

Contents of ch. 20850: 檄, Inscribed wooden tablets anciently used for official despatches. General definitions of the word, followed by phrases: 文檄, 羽檄, etc. The bulk of the *chüan* consists of 詩文, under which sub-heading there is a long extract from 册府元龜, *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*.

Ch. 20851: Continuation of 檄, under the sub-heading 文, most of which is extracted from 文選, *Wên hsüan*.

26+24 fols.

Labels on cover missing. The volume has been rebound in buckram, with the original yellow silk covering pasted on the boards.

Just as I was about to send off the above article, I received a letter from Professor Pelliot calling my attention to yet another account of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* which appeared in B. E. F. E. O., XII (1912), No. 9, pp. 79 *seq*. The author, M. Aurousseau, traverses somewhat the same ground as myself, and concludes by giving some details of the 64 vols. preserved at Peking, and also of 10 others belonging to Dr. Morrison. His account is unfortunately marred by the fact that he has misunderstood the term 正本, in the Imperial Catalogue, taking it to be the equivalent of 元本. Hence he translates: "En 1562, l'Empereur Kia-tsing fit faire une copie complète. . . . L'exemplaire original fut déposé au Wen-yuan ko, pavillon de la bibliothèque impériale, et la copie au Houang-che tch'eng. . . . Sous les Ts'ing on déposa au Han-lin

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yuan l'original," etc. The following points also stand in need of correction: (1) 'Kiai Tsin' for 解緒. The surname is read not 'Chieh' but 'Hsieh.' (2) 'Le mot Song 宋 occupait, dans le Yong-lo ta-tien, 1257 chapitres.' The number, as we have seen, is really 798 (ch. 12256–13053). (3) As regards the volumes belonging to the E'cole Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, 'ch. 20404–5' must be a misprint for ch. 2404–5, as the rhyme is 模 (6th of 1st tone-group). On the other hand, M. Aurousseau is able to correct the statement in the Imperial Catalogue, which I had accepted, that the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* adopted the rhyme-system of the *Hung wu chêng yün* (故此書以洪武正韻爲綱, 全如韻府之體). He points out that the latter work contains only 76 rhymes, whereas the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* has the following four in addition: 微, 尾, 未, and 術.

Comparative Table of Rhymes

in *Yung Lo Ta Tien* and *P'ei Wên Yün Fu*

Y.L.T.T. I (平)	P.W.Y.F. I (上平)	P.W.Y.F. II (下平)	Y.L.T.T. II (上)	P.W.Y.F. III (上)	P.W.Y.F. III (上)
1. 東	1. 東	1. 先	1. 董	1. 董	
2. 支	2. 冬	2. 蕭	2. 紙	2. 腫	
3. 微	3. 江	3. 肴	3. 尾	3. 講	
4. 齊	4. 支	4. 豪	4. 濟	4. 紙	
5. 魚	5. 微	5. 歌	5. 語	5. 尾	
6. 模	6. 魚	6. 麻	6. 姥	6. 語	
7. 皆	7. 灰	7. 陽	7. 解	7. 薺	
8. 灰	8. 齊	8. 庚	8. 賄	8. 蟹	
9. 眞	9. 佳	9. 青	9. 軫	9. 賄	
10. 寒	10. 灰	10. 蒸	10. 罕	10. 軫	
11. 刪	11. 眞	11. 尤	11. 產	11. 吻	
12. 先	12. 文	12. 侵	12. 銑	12. 阮	
13. 蕭	13. 元	13. 覃	13. 篠	13. 旱	
14. 爻	14. 寒	14. 鹽	14. 巧	14. 潸	
15. 歌	15. 刪	15. 咸	15. 皓	15. 銑	
16. 麻			16. 哿	16. 篠	
17. 遮			17. 者	17. 巧	
18. 陽			18 養	18. 皓	
19. 庚			1ソ 梗	19. 哿	
20. 尤			20. 有	20. 馬	
21. 侵			21. 寢	21. 養	
22. 覃			22. 感	22. 梗	
23. 鹽			23. 琰	23. 梗	
					24. 迥
					25. 有
					26. 寢
					27. 感
					28. 琰
					29. 豏

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Y.L.T.T. III (去)	P.W.Y.F. IV (去)	P.W.Y.F. IV (去)	Y.L.T.T. IV (入)	P.W.Y.F. V (入)
1. 送	1. 送	24. 敬	1. 屋	1. 屋
2. 實	2. 宋	25. 徑	2. 實	2. 沃
3. 未	3. 絳	26. 宥	3. 術	3. 覺
4. 霽	4. 實	27. 沁	4. 昌	4. 物
5. 御	5. 未	28. 勘	5. 緝	5. 月
6. 暮	6. 御	29. 豔	6. 屑	6. 曷
7. 泰	7. 過	30. 陷	7. 薛	7. 黠
8. 隊	8. 泰		8. 陌	8. 屑
9. 震	9. 卦		9. 緝	9. 藥
10. 輸	10. 隊		10. 合	10. 陌
11. 諫	11. 震		11. 葉	11. 錫
12. 霰	12. 問			12. 職
13. 嘯	13. 願			13. 緝
14. 效	14. 輸			14. 合
15. 箇	15. 諫			15. 葉
16. 禡	16. 霰			16. 洽
17. 漾	17. 嘯			17.
18. 敬	18. 效			
19. 宥	19. 號			
20. 沁	20. 箇			
21. 勘	21. 禡			
22. 豔	22. 漾			
23.	23.			

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. T. HUTSON

BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

PUNISHMENTS (刑 法), *hsing fa*

I. *Punishments not involving death* (活 刑), *huo hsing.*

Ch'ih (笞), to beat with the small bamboo rod. This rod is about three feet long, and one inch wide, and is applied to the thighs over a space of about six inches. A few thousands of strokes may be given till the thigh bone is made bare. This punishment is inflicted mostly upon the thief. Scholars or dignitaries are exempt from this humiliation. A permanent scar is made which officials make a point of examining when investigating a case. The runners are sometimes bribed by friends to lay on lightly, or reduce the number of blows, or beat the ground. This is a parental form of correction and the prisoner has to thank the magistrate for inflicting it. Tartars, as the conquering race, were exempt from this punishment.

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The heavy bamboo, *chang* (杖), is about 4 feet long and about 4 inches wide, sometimes made of wood and at other times of bamboo. The punishment meted out varies from 80 to 200 blows. This chastisement is generally to the disobedient and unfilial. The prisoner is bound and held down while being beaten. Another kind of beating is called *t'ou hsing* (頭刑) or *mao pan* (茅板). The instrument used is a large bamboo split in two halves and not polished in the least; a pile of bricks is made, over which the prisoner is bent and this instrument of correction applied to the buttocks. A few tens of blows may be sufficient to cause death. *Li pi chang hsia* (立斃杖下) means to die under the bamboo.

There are three kinds of banishment: one is *liu* (流), transportation for a few hundreds of miles; this punishment is frequently inflicted on persons guilty of adultery, manslaughter, or incendiarism. *T'u* (徒) or *liu t'u* (流徒), is also transportation; but the punishment is often to be confined by night and free by day; this is called *tso t'u* (坐徒). The individual thus punished is neither reckoned worthy of death nor of life; a useless wastrel.

Ch'ung chûn (充軍) is banishment beyond the Great Wall, or to the frontier military posts without any hope of a return. This is a heavy military punishment and mostly imposed upon officials and soldiers.

Penal servitude (監禁), *chien chin*, may be for three, eight or for twenty years, or for life. The life sentence is called *lao fan* (牢犯) or *lao chien*, and also *yung yüan* (永遠) *chien chin*. Prisoners on entering jail have their heads shaved, the hair afterwards being left to grow long. No barber is allowed in jail except at New Year times when some favored few may have their beards shaved. The only knife allowed in jail is a piece of broken crockery.

Criminals just taken into custody and awaiting trial, whose offences are slight, and who await the payment of fines or a surety to bail them out, are confined in a guardhouse, *ch'ia chin* (卡禁). A place of confinement better than the guardhouse, into which gentry and scholars are put while

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waiting for judgment or bail, is called in some cities *tai-chih so* (待質所); in others, *tzŭ-hsin so* (自新所), a penitentiary.

One of the most painful of beatings is termed *t'iao-tzŭ* (條子) or *niu chin* (牛筋), ox sinew stripes. It is inflicted mostly for indecent behaviour. Women are stripped of their upper garments and beaten across the shoulders and back, while men are stripped and suspended by the arms and beaten.

Sometimes a man is kept in custody in the inn, *ya pao tien* (押保店) till the matter is settled. The prisoner in this case has to feed the yamen underlings and give them sufficient opium; if he does not bribe them his chains will not be taken off at night.

A form of punishment meted out to scholars and gentry is beating on the hands with a piece of polished board, such as is used in schools.

To beat on the cheek with a thong of leather fixed to a wooden handle is called *ta tsui pa* (打嘴巴). The instrument is shaped something like the sole of a Chinese shoe. By this punishment the teeth are not infrequently knocked out and the face swells to a great size.

The punishment called *yang pan* (仰板), to beat on the front of the thigh, is reserved for priests, nuns and loose women, and is administered in the public courtyard.

Cages in which prisoners are kept, *lung chin* (籠[illegible]), are of several kinds. *Chan lung* (站籠) is a standing cage, the height of a man. The top is composed of two boards fitting exactly together, in the centre of which a round hole is cut, the size of a man's neck. The prisoner is put in, and this cover put on and nailed down. The prisoner can just manage to put his hand round and convey some food to his mouth. If he bribes the yamen runners he may get release at night, if not he may be left to stand all the night through.

The *tso* (坐) *lung* or *ai* (矮) *lung* is a kind of cage in which the prisoner may sit on a cross bar or put his legs through the bottom or walk slowly; the neck part is the same as the former.

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The cat cage, *mao* (貓) *lung* is too low for the prisoner either to straighten his back or stretch his limbs. A month or two in this and he is turned into a deformed, useless creature. If food is stopped, as is frequently the case, the man dies very quickly. *Chia chin* (枷禁), the cangue, is a heavy wooden frame which divides in the centre into two halves, where a round hole is made to fit the neck. It is carried as a collar by the criminal. If food is allowed it is very difficult to convey it to the mouth. When food is forbidden the prisoner cannot survive more than a few days. The weight of the cangue varies from 20 to 100 catties.

There is also a double cangue for two people. This punishment is for brothers who quarrel, or in cases of adultery. These criminals are exposed to the public gaze with their offence written on the pillory.

There is even a three-hole cangue into which three people are fixed This is generally inflicted on gamblers and the smart-fingered gentry.

The boy's cangue is used for boys addicted to gambling or who have entered the boys' secret society known as the 棒棒會.

The *chüeh p'ên* (脚盆) *chia* or *pan t'ou* (蟠頭) *chia*, foot tub or dish cangue, is light, and can easily be carried about the streets. Such is sometimes put on the tax gatherer when he fails to collect the taxes; and he carries it from market to market.

A chain is fastened to a heavy stone and the criminal is chained all day and released at night to sleep in the guard-house. This is *t'ieh lien shih têng* (鐵鍊石磴).

The hand cangue, *shoü chia* (手枷), confines the hands as well as the head; the foot cangue, *chüeh* (脚) *chia*, is a wooden block round the two ankles; the wearer can move about slowly. The *yüan yang* (鴛鴦) *chia* confines one foot and one hand of each of two persons. The *yüan* and the *yang* are the mandarin drake and duck which never leave their mates.

Cutting off the ears, *hsüeh êrh to* (削耳朵), was a punishment in use up to the present year.

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Branding on the forehead, *mei hsing* (墨刑), or *tz'ŭ tzŭ* (朿字), is an ancient punishment and was still in use until the revolution. A needle is used to prick the characters on the skin, then indigo is rubbed into the wound, and when healed the blue characters are seen. The punishment is generally inflicted on pickpockets and swindlers.

Ko chüeh chin (割脚筋), to cut the tendons at the back of the foot is also a very ancient punishment and is still practised. It is generally inflicted upon robbers only, as the man is lamed for life.

Another punishment is to carry an iron bar of from 30 to 40 catties in weight, *pei t'ieh kan* (背鐵杆). An iron ring is welded round the neck and the bar is attached to this with a chain. If the criminal bribes the blacksmith and runners he may get released from it at night. The man who has suffered this penalty often bears the nick-name of *t'ieh kan* for life.

Other punishments are *ch'a êrh chien* (插耳箭), to double the ears and put a bamboo needle through the cartilage; *ts'o ching* (剉脛), breaking the ankle bone, and the *t'ieh ch'ien* (鐵鉗), or iron tongs. This is an iron frame-work into which the hands and feet are fastened, and the whole is suspended from the neck; the part at the back of the neck being sharp, immediately the hands let go, or the feet move, it cuts the flesh. This is a punishment for the gambler.

II. *Fei hsing* (匪刑), or *k'o hsing* (酷刑), illegal punishments.

Ta chia kuan (打加官), putting on the mask, that is, to suffocate the criminal by putting several layers of paper soaked in lime water over the face. This is done by yamen runners at the wink of the official owing to the case being one of danger to himself and to the district.

Chêng cha pao (蒸鮓包). The unfortunate is put into a cage or pit, and covered up with quick-lime, water is then poured in and the man is roasted or boiled alive. In some cases fire crackers are wound round the body and set alight.

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To light the candle; the criminal is chained to a heavy frame, his body is then wound with cotton wool, which is soaked with oil and lighted at the crown of the head.

III. *Death penalty.* (死 刑) *Ssŭ hsing.*

Tiao kao lung (吊 高 櫳), is to hang up in a cage by the neck. The cage has no bottom and stands about ten feet high. The neck is encircled by the top cover of the cage, the head being outside. Death comes very soon, and it is reckoned a light penalty because the body is not mutilated. Any district magistrate may use this method of execution and also *Yung k'ou chia* (擁 口 枷), or the clasp-throat cangue. This is a heavy oak pillory and is over 100 catties in weight. The neck is clasped tight and the frame is so large that food cannot be conveyed to the mouth; the criminal soon collapses and, with the fall, the neck is generally broken.

Death by strangling is called *chiao hsing* (絞 刑). Three posts are fixed into the ground. To the centre one the criminal is tied, a rope with a running noose is put round his neck, and then one man pulls at each end of the rope, two strong pulls; the rope is then fastened to the side posts; then the doomed man gets a heavy kick in the abdomen and the breath is driven from his body by the rectum. This is most frequently administered to soldiers for breach of military laws.

To cut off the head of a person worthy of death after death has come from other causes, or to cut the corpse limb from limb, is called, *chua shih* (抓 屍).

In the punishment called *ch'êng kan ch'êng jen* (秤 桿 秤 人), to weigh a man on the scales, huge iron clamps are driven into the ribs on both sides of the backbone and a rope is attached. The unfortunate man is then raised over a cross beam to the height of about 8 or 10 feet from the ground, where he hangs suspended face downwards, and may live for two or three days.

The family of a rebel, whether official or civilian, is exterminated and his goods are confiscated. This is called *wa kên tuan miao* (挖 根 斷 苗), or *chu tsu* (誅 族).

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Another punishment is to nail the living door god. *ting huo mên-shên* (釘 活 門 神), that is, crucifixion. The criminal's hands and feet are nailed to a door or cross. The nails are made red-hot and driven through the palms of the hands and the front of the foot. Hot nails are used to staunch the bleeding. A hole is made through the back of the cross through which the queue is put to keep up the head. Sometimes the head is held up by nailing the skin on either side of the neck. The wretch may live two or three days unless he can bribe the yamen runners, through his friends, to give him a dose of opium. He is raised so high that a large crowd of people can stare at him. This punishment can be inflicted without reference to a superior officer, as it does not mutilate the body.

Ling ch'ih sui kua (凌 遲 碎 剮), to hack in pieces. This punishment was, prior to the Revolution, inflicted on both men and women, usually for the murder of a parent or a husband. The criminal was tied to a stake at the crossing of two streets or on the execution ground; first the skin of the brow was cut and pulled over the eyes; then the nose, lips, ears, hands, arms, were taken from the body, then the sword pierced through the heart and the body was hewn in pieces. Formerly the flesh was roasted and the fat used to light the four gates of the city, the flesh and the bones cremated and the ashes scattered to the four winds. This punishment required the sanction of a senior officer, as it mutilated the body.

Beheading, *ta p'i* (大 辟), is the utmost penalty of the law and the one most dreaded by the Chinese, who all shrink from the idea of becoming a headless ghost. To such an extent is this feared that a head is often sewn on immediately after execution unless it has to be exposed in the person's native village, *hsiao shou* (梟 首). The executioner is sometimes bribed to leave a part of the neck unsevered. All such punishments must be sanctioned by the superior officers before they can be carried out. Therefore the whole case has to go through a great many different phases before the execution can take place. Such are as follows:

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K'ao wên (考 問), to investigate the case and obtain the person's own confession of guilt. Unfortunately this is very often got by torture. After the magistrate has obtained what he thinks sufficient evidence he must notify his superior officer, *hsiang ping* (詳 稟), by an official dispatch, giving all details, after which the superior officer sends a deputy to investigate the confession, *ch'ing k'ou kung* (清口供). Much depends upon this man; if not well treated by the district magistrate he might get him into trouble by reporting unfavourably of his judgment. After the criminal has acknowledged his guilt (落 供), *lo kung*, he has to dip his thumb in ink and make an impression on the official document.

The criminals hold a feast, *fên li chiu* (分 離 酒), just before midwinter, which is the general time for executions as at this season the death principle reigns throughout nature. This is a farewell feast to those about to die.

Shang chüeh liao shou chou (上 脚 鐐 手 肘) is to put in fetters, hands and feet. As soon as the deputy has confirmed the district magistrate's sentence of death the criminal is chained, hands and feet.

The warrant of death is an official dispatch through which a nail is driven and bent, *ting fêng* (釘 封), and sealed. There is also a black tablet sent along with the warrant, which is carried into the gaol when the prisoners are taken out. This is called the *hei p'ai* (黑 牌). Whenever the warrant arrives the yamen runners make a raid on the rope-makers for ropes to bind the prisoners, paying nothing; for days before an execution the rope-dealers display few, if any ropes, for fear they will be seized.

When the warrant arrives the official orders wine and food to be set before the doomed men. Sometimes abundance of wine and pork is supplied, at others, only a limited amount. Some drink themselves quite drunk and others only reach the tipsy stage.

Then the hands are bound behind the back and ropes put on the neck, and the tallies are stuck in the band of the criminal's lower garment at the back. These tallies are strips of bamboo a few feet in length and a few inches wide, on which are

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written the doomed man's name and crime. The characters are written with ink which has been mixed with tea. No teacher likes to use tea in mixing his ink as it is reckoned unlucky.

The fetters are knocked from the hands and feet. This is done by a blacksmith in the roughest way.

The assistant executioner, *t'i shou* (替手), holds the sword in front of the doomed man's face while the real executioner stands at the back to do his work.

The *kuei tzŭ shou* (劊子手), or executioner, belongs to the military yamen. His pay used to be 800 cash per head.

It is the duty of the military official, whose men do the work of execution, to witness it, *chien chan* (監斬).

The district magistrate goes to the temple, burns incense and makes a declaration to the city god that he has not had these men beheaded for any personal spite or selfish ends, but simply because of their own evil deeds. Returning to his yamen, a heap of straw with crackers is set fire to at the entrance, through which he is carried at a furious pace, *kuo huo yen shan* (過火焰山) (passing the flame-hill), for fear any of the disembodied spirits of the men should have followed him. Many of these men vow before death that after death their chief work will be to kill the official. Hence these past months, during the rebellion, it was said that the soldiers of Hades were moving to help them, *yin ping tung liao* (陰兵動了). The people burned straw sandals by the thousand as an offering to these spirits.

After the executions are over the yamen runners arm themselves with clubs and go round and round the yamen, *p'an ya* (盤衙), and enter the official's private quarters, flourishing these clubs to drive away the evil spirits. They make their obeisance to the official, who in turn gives them a present.

Those remaining in gaol after the midwinter executions, as most probably they may live another year, have a feast together, *t'uan yüan chiu* (團圓酒).

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If only one person should be left in the government prison, he may be strangled in prison, *chien hou chiao* (監侯絞).

IV. *Torture, K'ao ta hsing* (拷打刑).

The following are a few of the methods used to extort confession, etc.:

Kuei t'ai ho (跪抬盒), to kneel in the carrying box. This instrument of torture takes its name from the box frame in which presents are carried from one place to another with one pole between two men. The prisoner is made to kneel in this box, sometimes on ashes, sometimes on broken glass or iron chains. A heavy weight is then placed upon the legs, pressing the knees down into the ashes. The hands are passed through the holes on either side and wedged in tightly. A string is then attached to one finger of each hand and pulled tightly outward. The back is covered with incense, which is lighted. This burning incense is often fanned till sometimes the fat drops on the ground. I have known the ribs and backbone to be exposed as the result of this burning. Sometimes long cuts in the flesh are made in the shape of a Chinese waistcoat, these are filled with incense and set fire to; this is called *ch'uan ling chia* (穿領架). The prisoner may stay for hours in this position while the magistrate does other business. When he has promised to confess, he is let down, but if his confessions are not enough he may be put in a second time. Many die as the result of this cruel treatment.

"The monkey moving the log." A high bench is placed in court. The criminal is stretched on it and his thumbs and toes tied to the bench; he is then swung underneath the bench, suspended by his thumbs and toes and a heavy weight is attached to the body. A candle is lit, the flame of which just touches the buttocks—*tso la* (坐蠟), or sitting on the candle.

Tso lan pan têng (坐懶板凳), to sit on the lazy stool. The criminal is made to sit on a stool with his back against a pillar. The legs are tied tightly at the knees and ankles and

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weights are attached; the hands are tied behind the back and to the pillar; a strong string or oftener a chain is tied round the head tightened with wedges—the *hua ku ku mao* (花箍箍帽), the flowery hat.

Tsan chih (拶指). Needles are stuck in, five under each nail, beginning with the second finger, then the forefinger and finally the other fingers. Both hands are done and this sometimes when the poor creature is kneeling in the *t'ai ho* as described above.

P'ao lo (炮烙) is to brand with hot irons or to place red-hot coins direct on the body.

Tien chih la (點指蠟), to roll the fingers in oil paper and set them on fire. This is what is called burning finger-candles.

To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (圍倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen*. On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they

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all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan*.

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night.

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a

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duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell ; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head ; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tzŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên* (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

A new appointment is announced in the Provincial Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money

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is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is álso a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

On a lucky day at a lucky hour the seals are handed over in the yamen inner court in the presence of the official underlings and public men. After this the yamen runners march round the outer court, jumping as they go, and then go in and *ko t'ou* to the new official. This is to welcome him and to acknowledge his authority.

He sends cards to the important men and offices in the city, after which people call to pay their respects.

Then the roll of underlings is called, including the writers, yamen runners and country headmen. This is afterwards done monthly.

The grain in the government granaries has to be measured, *yüeh ts'ang* (閱倉), before the former official leaves; but sometimes an estimate is made and a sum of money paid over to cover deficiency.

The retiring magistrate must receive an acknowledgment that all has been duly handed over. Unless he produces this to his superior officer in the capital he will not get a new post.

The new man puts out a proclamation, *kuan fang* (關防), telling the public he has brought no relatives or friends with him and that they are not to be deceived by any professing to be such.

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The former official is escorted out of the city, and the guilds and shopkeepers cover his sedan chair with red silk or cloth. If he has been popular a big umbrella, embellished with many people's names, may be given to him; tables are set out in the street with wine and sweets.

An examination is held for candidates for the attorneys' or copyists' places, *k'ao tai shu* (考代書). Successful candidates, about eight in each district, have to pay thirty taels before receiving their seals. They may have associates who pay part of the money and use the same seals. All lawsuits pass through these men's hands. An indictment is not received unless written on the official paper and stamped by the official attorney.

On certain fixed days, usually the 3rd and 8th of each moon, the large doors of the yamen are thrown open and the indictments by poor people are received without fees, *fang kao* (放告). Such are not received on other days unless on the 1st and 15th as the magistrate returns from worshipping at the temple.

A table hung in the yamen gives a list of cases and dates of trial.

There are three courts in a yamen. The outer, *ta t'ang* (大堂), is the imperial court; the second, or *êrh t'ang*, is the district court and the inner, *hua t'ing* (花廳), is the magistrate's private court. Both when he takes his seat in the imperial court and when he adjourns the court, three guns are fired.

When a "coroners' inquest" is held a pavilion is put up for the magistrate and his retinue; his nose is filled with assafœtida, *o wei* (阿魏), and underlings carry incense. If the body is fresh the *wu tso* (仵作) simply calls out to the recorder the wounds, etc., on the body. In an important case, the magistrate himself examines what is said to be the fatal wound, *chih ming shang* (致命傷). If the body is decayed it is boiled in big pots, the bones are rubbed clean with cotton wool and the wounds show up on them! For such a case the *wu tso* has to call in experienced assistants. Some seventy or eighty different kinds of knives or instruments are brought

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into use ; the bones of the body are counted and expected to number 360 ; the water-carriers are put on oath, since salt mixed with the water obliterates bruises on the bones.

If murder is suspected in a house and no traces can be seen, the room is shut up and thoroughly fumigated with mulberry leaves and the walls and floor are soaked with vinegar ; then the blood will show up on the walls and even the position of the body may be clearly seen. This kind of inquest involves the expenditure of some thousands of taels and only the rich can indulge.

On returning from an inquest the magistrate in his chair goes through burning straw at his yamen entrance, to drive off noxious smells and evil spirits.

When there is a conflagration the magistrate must get up any hour of the night to assist. Underlings carry a *huo kou* (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water aud dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing.

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy.

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農)

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(B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*)

The collection of the land tax, *ti ting* (地丁), or *chêng liang* (正糧), is often managed by a semi-official dealer in taxes. He advances the money when necessary, at a high interest.

The tax is said to be two fen or candareens per *mou*, but it will often be two mace. In times of great distress it is remitted, *yu mien* (憂免), and also where land is silted up or washed away, *yung mien* (永免).

Besides the land tax there are the military expenses tax, *chün hsü* (軍需), and the willing contributions to government, *chüan shu* (捐輸). There is further a *pourboire*, or squeeze, called *chin tieh* (津貼), and also *li chin* (厘金), or assessment on certain articles, etc.; thus the pig tax, which rose to 1,500 cash per pig; oil so much per *ts'ao* (槽) (120 catties); inns, so much per bed, etc.

Of late years a tax office, called *chin chüan* (津捐), has been opened in each county. A tax collector's position was reckoned much more lucrative than an ordinary district magistrate's.

Taxes in refined silver are sent to the capital under armed escort, all expenses being deducted.

Travelling expenses must be given to underlings of high officials passing through the district, and when a deputy official goes through he receives Tls. 50 besides travelling expenses.

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Fuel and bedding must also be provided out of taxes to passing troops.

The train bands must present themselves, in uniform and with weapons, to answer the roll call.

Some headmen of "parishes" etc., must also appear. These are the *tsung pao* (總保), or head of a district; *t'uan shou* (團首), or head of 1,000 families; *chia chang* (甲長), head of 100 families; *p'ai shou* (牌首), head of 10 families; and *hua hu* (花戶), or head of each family. Only the first three need appear at review.

Each family is registered and is given a door-tablet with name and number in the family written on it; this costs about 40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'ai shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common.

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of course, in different places, but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered.

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發蔭襲).

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The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssŭ* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, the magistrate following. In a selected field an old farmer and his wife await them. The magistrate ploughs his seven furrows, the farmer sows some grain, the wife bears a basket of food for him, and the couple receive a silver medal.

The post of *ch'un kuan* is bought for a fixed sum and may be held for life. It gets an annual payment from the magistrate. (See under *Four Seasons.*)

At the end of the year the official seals are sealed up and are brought into use again at the middle of the first moon. (See under *New Year.*)

The literary examinations, *k'ao k'o* (考課), have been much changed lately and much chaos has resulted; hence a few notes on the old system must suffice.

Chi (季) *k'o* examinations were held in the Academy at the four seasons, the subjects being penmanship and composition.

Monthly examinations, *yüeh* (月) *k'o*, were held to select students for the Academy. The Academy head master had great power and could degrade unworthy scholars after examinations, *shih k'o.*

The local gentry also held examinations in the country *hui* (會) *k'o.* Twice in three years an examination, *k'ao shih* (考試), was held to pick out the students fit to proceed to the prefectural examinations. The magistrate had to be shut in with the students in the examination hall, control the examination of the essays and publication of lists of passes.

No public business is done on the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors, *shou chi ai* (守忌哀).

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On the anniversaries of the accession of former emperors the magistrate wore court dress, worshipped the *wan sui p'ai*, but did not stop work. The birthdays of emperor, of empress, of empress-dowager and heir-apparent were similarly observed. At an emperor's death the magistrate had to sit in straw, *tso ts'ao* (坐草), for a certain period.

At the proper time a tablet is hung in the yamen announcing "No litigation in harvest time," *nung mang t'ing sung* (農忙停訟). Another informs the public that corporal punishment is lightened on account of hot weather, *k'u jê chien hsing* (酷熱減刑).

Notices are also hung up when the official is busy with examination or has gone out on public business.

When sitting in court the three characters, 清慎勤 "pure, careful, diligent," are hung over the magistrate's head; and over the entrance to the imperial court in the yamen is inscribed 天理國法民情, Heaven's rectitude, the country's laws, the people's rights.

A common saying is, "The yamen opens like the character 八; if you've right but no money, don't enter." Yet the Chinese are keen litigants and go to court on very slight grounds.

A magistrate must give up office for three years on his father's or mother's death, *ting yu* (丁憂) and *ting chien* (丁艱). Not to notify such death is *ch'i chün* (欺君), to deceive the emperor; to try to re-enter the official service before the three years are ended is *man ch'in* (慢親), cheating kindred.

Followers of the Yamen

There is a clear distinction between those who belong to the yamen and those who follow the official.

The bureau of civil affairs, *li fang* (吏房), attends to salaries and scholars' appointments, and keeps a list of graduates in the district and of those eligible for higher examinations.

It notifies the Imperial court when a scholar has attended all examinations till he is sixty years old; a degree is then

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given him, and if he goes on till he is eighty, he will receive a yellow riding-jacket and a dragon-headed walking-stick.

The bureau of revenue and population, *hu fang* (戶房), gathers taxes, counts the families and registers headmen. It gets a commission on the sale of property.

The bureau of rites, *li fang* (禮房). All cases of broken contracts, divorces, seduction, kidnapping, etc., come to this office. It also keeps a list of scholars without degrees.

The military bureau, *ping fang* (兵房), attends to enlistment, drilling and feeding of soldiers, the housing of troops on the march, the arming and conduct of militia and the quarrels and lawsuits of the soldiery.

The bureau of works, *kung fang* (工房), looks after the city wall and gates and all public buildings and attends to disputes about boundaries and graveyards.

The granary bureau, *ts'ang fang* (倉房), is responsible for the public granaries, the buying and selling of rice and its distribution in time of famine or siege.

The tea and salt bureau, *yen ch'a fang* (鹽茶房). The trade is a monopoly in each city and the bureau looks after the revenue from this source.

The punishments bureau, *hsing fang* (刑房), attends to litigation about deaths by violence; the *wu tso* (仵作) is officially attached to it.

The litigation registry bureau, *ch'êng fa fang* (承發房), records all the indictments, etc., and is responsible for indictments passing up into the magistrate's hands.

The interpretation bureau, *i ch'ing fang* (夷情房), only exists in frontier districts, where the aboriginal tribes make it necessary.

Yamen Runners.

In Ch'ung ch'ing chou districts there are some 3,000, with 300 *ling pan* (領班), or superiors: there they control the literati. In Kuan hsien the case is reversed, because that district has produced two or three Han-lin scholars, thus raising the status of the literati. Ch'ung ch'ing has only produced *chin shih* (進士). The result is that the yamen

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runners' oppression is intolerable in one place while it may be mitigated in another.

Warrants may be given to a *ling pan* to call up an accused person, *huan p'iao* (喚 票), or to apprehend him, *chü p'iao* (拘 票), or for an immediate arrest, *ch'u ch'ien* (出 籤), or to summon a man in public service to answer a charge of corruption, *ch'ien ch'uan* (籤 傳), or to assemble gentry and public men for consultation, *ch'uan tan* (傳 單).

A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧 班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings.

The *hu pan* (戶 班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕 班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁 班), or *hou pan* (吼 班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青 衣 案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence.

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅 衣 案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

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Disputes about estates or marriages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan.

If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it, Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

The *hung ping* (紅稟) red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

The *pai ping* (白稟) petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽狗匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

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Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大格式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

A suit may often be stopped, *lan liu* (攔留), by payment of money even after the indictment has been written. In family quarrels this is common, even in life and death cases, as a mother-in-law beating to death her daughter-in-law.

Sometimes one goes straight to the magistrate and calls for redress of a grievance; he must come out or send a deputy; but the usual result is an order to present an indictment.

A first petition being rejected the litigant may try again, altering what the magistrate has objected to, adding necessary witnesses, etc.

Before going to a higher court there are eight ways in which a litigant may appeal to an official against his decision. Sending up documents to a higher court costs a great deal of money, both to the official and to the yamen bureaus.

Tzŭ kao (自稿) is a plea written by the petitioner himself; the language is generally forcible and the copyist adds these two characters.

Tzŭ ch'o (自戳) means stamped by himself. Sometimes a hand or a foot, but usually only the thumb, is put in the ink. The magistrate dreads such cases, for the petitioner will only be satisfied with a decision in his favor, and an appeal to a higher court is probable.

Sometimes litigants are requested to put thumbmarks to a document declaring each side will accept the magistrate's decision and end the case.

When a magistrate is about to leave, cases are sometimes withdrawn, *ch'ou an* (抽案), for fear he should unduly hasten a decision or should leave them undecided to a successor who may shelve them.

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Signs of Authority, Followers, etc.

When the magistrate is judging a case a duplicate of the seal box is hung behind him. A jar of bamboos stands on the table; if he throws down one tally, it means a hundred blows; if he tumbles out all the tallies it means unlimited beating. There are other tallies for other uses; aud there is a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i*, *fan*, *wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

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The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅契) receives taxes on sales of property.

The yamen food is in three grades; the official and secretaries have the first class, the *ta yeh* the second, the watchmen and other menials the third.

There are a few other employees in a yamen besides those above named.

[To be continued]

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THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

(Continued)

I have already stated that Wu-t'ai is not the only place that claims the honour of having been the home of the emperor Shun-chih after his alleged abdication. The rival claimant is a temple known as T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, which is situated among the Western Hills (西山), a few miles to the west of Peking. It is to this temple that Messrs. Backhouse and Bland allude when they tell the story (in which they seem more than half inclined to believe) of the emperor's entry into the monkhood. Having stated that "there appears to be good reason for doubting the dynastic annals" in the matter of the death of Shun-chih, they proceed to give us some interesting details which are well worthy of close attention. "It is certainly the common belief amongst Chinese students of history[1] that the emperor Shun-chih did not die in 1661, as the annals have it, but that he arranged with his ministers that he should vacate the throne and conceal his identity in that of the abbot of the T'ien-t'ai temple, which lies amongst the hills, fourteen miles to the west of Peking. It was said by contemporary

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(1) I venture to question this.

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writers that the abbot bore an extraordinary resemblance to the emperor, and to this day the temple contains a life-sized gilt mummy statue of a priest, some thirty years of age, whose features are unmistakably of the Manchu type."[1] A photograph of the image or "mummy statue" appears as frontispiece to the book and also on the cover. The authors seem to doubt whether the image in question is actually a "mummy," for they proceed as follows: "Finally, tradition declares that the emperor K'ang-hsi visited the temple on three occasions, and paid his respects to the abbot, who did not kneel to the sovereign as custom would have required in the case of an ordinary priest. When, in 1670, the abbot passed away, K'ang-hsi had a life-sized presentment of him cast in bronze, and sent presents of pearls and jewels to be buried in his tomb. The stone dagoba under which he is said to lie is still standing, and every year the temple is opened to the faithful, who come to prostrate themselves at the shrine in the full belief that here a Lord of Heaven lies buried."[2] With regard to this paragraph I may remark, in passing, that if the abbot of T'ien-t'ai died in 1670, it seems unlikely that the emperor K'ang-hsi can have personally visited him three times, for at that date the emperor was only a boy of about fifteen. Moreover, the Wu-t'ai story also tells us that K'ang-hsi visited his father three times, but as a matter of fact K'ang-hsi's first visit to Wu-t'ai did not take place till 1683.

I have paid several visits to the T'ien-t'ai temple and have therefore seen the image to which Messrs. Backhouse and Bland refer. My first visit took place on August 29, 1913, on which occasion the photograph which appears in *Annals and Memoirs* was taken by my friend Dr. (now Colonel) W. Perceval Yetts. At that time, though we were aware of the legend that associated the image and temple

(1) *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*, p. 237.

(2) *Loc. cit.* "Lord of Heaven" is presumably a slip for "Son of Heaven" (天子). I may add that the date of the annual pilgrimage is the 15th of the third month (lunar calendar).

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with the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, neither of us was in a position to elucidate the real facts. Only a very superficial examination of the image was possible, and I think we both came away without any very definite opinion as to whether it was or was not a real human body. That the actual mummied bodies (肉身) of monks are sometimes set up like images in Chinese temples is a well-known fact, concerning which Colonel Yetts has himself supplied some interesting and valuable information.[1] However, it matters little, as I hope to show, whether the figure in the T'ien-t'ai temple is really a mummy or is merely the image, in wax or bronze, of a monk whose body lies buried under a neighbouring dagoba.

Before giving the results of my later visits to T'ien-t'ai, I will deal with the legend as it appears in a publication entitled "Secret Court Annals, Old and New" (古今宮闈秘記). It begins by saying that after the funeral of Tung Kuei-fei the emperor was overwhelmed with grief, took to hating the world, and resolved to seek peace in a monastery. The temple chosen by him was one called T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, fifty *li* to the west of the capital. In this temple there is still to be seen a life-size *wax image of a monk* (蠟製之僧像). There must be some good reason for the fact that this image has been so carefully preserved for over three hundred years. (Here it may be pointed out that our author is shaky in his dates. Only 259 years have elapsed since the reign of Shun-chih came to an end, and only 250 years since the death of the abbot of the T'ien-t'ai temple, if the date given by Messrs. Backhouse and Bland is correct.) The emperor Shêng-tsu (K'ang-hsi) paid several visits to the temple and also presented honorific tablets and money. There can be no doubt that this is the temple to which the emperor Shih-tsu (Shun-chih) retired (則該寺爲世祖遜迹處殆無疑義).

(1) See "Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1911. The reader may also be referred to my *Buddhist China*, pp. 230–2, 239–240.

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The writer go on to mention the rival claims of Wu-t'ai, but rejects them. He gives no particular reason for his preference, but seems to regard the wax image as so important a piece of evidence that nothing more is necessary.

In his narrative he makes two amusing blunders which may well make us hesitate before we accept him as a trustworthy guide. In the first place the name he gives to the temple is incorrect. He alludes to it as the 天台寺, whereas the second Chinese character should be 太. The characters 台 and 太 are both written *t'ai* in the usual English transliteration of Pekingese (Wade's system), but, as every beginner in Chinese should be aware, they have different "tones." No educated Chinese would be likely to confuse the one character with the other, especially if he actually visited the temple and saw the name over the gateway. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that our legend-monger merely wrote from hearsay and not after a personal investigation of the facts.[1] In the second place he makes a foolish reference to a seventeenth-century poem to which I have already had occasion to refer, Mei-ts'un's *Ch'ing-liang Shan Tsan Fo Shih*—"A Poem about the Ch'ing-liang Mountain in praise of Buddha." I have already pointed out that *Ch'ing-liang* (清涼) is a well-known alternative name of the Wu-t'ai Mountain. Now the writer I am at present criticizing wishes to show that it was T'ien-t'ai, not Wu-t'ai, to which the emperor retired, but at the same time he knows that the poem in question is supposed to contain hidden allusions to the emperor's retirement, and he is therefore unwilling to dispense with it as a valuable piece of evidence against the official annalists. He tries to meet the difficulty with the suggestion that in this poem Mei-ts'un applied the name Ch'ing-liang not to Wu-t'ai but to T'ien-t'ai (吳梅村詩之清涼山卽天台山矣). The nonsensical nature of this statement will be clear to anyone who knows something

(1) He possibly assumed that the name was the same as that of the famous T'ien-t'ai hills (天台山) in the province of Chekiang.

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of the religious traditions of Wu-t'ai and will consult the first few words of Mai-ts'un's poem. The poem begins thus :

西　北　有　高　山
云　是　文　殊　臺
臺　上　明　月　池
千　葉　金　蓮　開

The mention in this stanza of Wên-shu (the Chinese name for the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) is sufficient in itself to prove that Mei-ts'un's Ch'ing-liang shan can only have been Wu-t'ai. Wu-t'ai is one of the "Four Famous Mountains" (四大名山) of the Chinese Buddhists, each of which is devoted to the cult of one of the four great bodhisattvas—Kuan-yin, Ti-tsang, P'u-hsien and Wên-shu ; and we have already seen that Wên-shu is the patron-saint of Wu-t'ai.[1] The small temple of T'ien-t'ai has no special associations with Wên-shu, and it is impossible that Mei-ts'un can have had this temple in view when he wrote his poem. It is doubtful, indeed, whether at that date the T'ien-t'ai temple existed.

If the image in this temple is not that of the emperor Shun-chih, whom does it represent? This is a question on which I hope to be able to throw some light.

My second visit to T'ien-t'ai took place in 1915, and on this occasion I spent a considerable time in examining the temple and its monuments. Though commonly called T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ (天太寺), its full name is *T'ien-t'ai-shan Fo Tz'ŭ Shan Ssŭ* (天太山佛慈善寺). The principal hall or *tien* is occupied by an image of Kuan-yin, of the type known as "thousand-armed and thousand-eyed" (千手千眼). Behind this hall is the building which contains the famous image. It is important to note that this building bears the curious name of *Mo-wang Tien* (魔王殿), which implies that the

(1) See *Buddhist China*, p. 147.

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person to whom it is dedicated and whose image it contains is a *Mo-wang*—"Demon-king." This term can be interpreted in different ways. It sometimes means a demon whose function it is to thwart well-intentioned people in their efforts to do good. A commentator on the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華經) slightly varies this by saying that a "mo-wang" is one who makes a parasitic use of others to further his own interests (假他所作以成己業). But the term may also be applied to one who rules demons but is not himself a demon; he is, in fact, a *demon-queller*, and is therefore active in good works. It is reasonable to suppose that the Mo-wang of T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, whoever he was, belonged to the beneficent category. This is confirmed by the numerous scrolls and honorific tablets inside and outside the *tien*, which testify to the spiritual and other benefits procurable through Mo-wang's benign agency. Besides these laudatory inscriptions, which were the gifts of grateful or hopeful worshippers, there are a large number of inscribed tablets within the precincts of this temple. As the priests seemed unable or unwilling to give me any information regarding the identity of Mo-wang, I turned to these tablets in the hope that they would be more communicative. My search did not go unrewarded. Within the grounds of the temple, but outside the main buildings, there is a cluster of small shrines or chapels, both Taoist and Buddhist. Against the side wall of one of these shrines there stands a tablet bearing an inscription showing that it was erected by pious pilgrims in the tenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1745). This inscription states that the T'ien-t'ai hill has no great celebrity and possesses no ancient temples (天太山...並非名山亦非古刹). It was not till after the accession of the Ch'ing dynasty that it became famous. It was then that *a mad monk* made a retreat for himself on this barren hill (始有癲僧隱居荒山) and devoted himself to strict ascetic exercises (坐臥苦修). His fame spread in all directions, owing to the fact that the prayers of those who made supplication to him were promptly answered (有求即應). By imperial patent he received the title of "The Demon-king Monk" (勅賜魔王和尙). This was the origin of the fame of T'ien-t'ai (此天太之由也).

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It will be noticed that the inscription does not give the mad monk's own name, though it mentions the honorific title conferred upon him by the Court. It is possible that the name is supplied by another inscription. On one of the stone tablets standing outside the Mo-wang Tien, I found an inscription dated the forty-seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1782) which states that a monk named Fo-yüan-wu (佛圓悟) lived here and passed peacefully away (蠕坐而化) in the forty-ninth year of K'ang-hsi (namely 1710). After his death his disciples dressed and adorned his "flesh-body" in a decorous manner, etc. (諸大弟子卽肉身裝嚴之聖因...).

A more thorough examination of the numerous monuments of this temple might either confirm or modify my provisional conclusion, which is that a crazy hermit-monk lived on this hill in the reign of K'ang-hsi and acquired great local celebrity; that his religious name was Fo-yüan-wu; that he died in 1710; that after his death his disciples—as often happened in such cases—made a mummy of his body and set it up in a shrine;[1] that representations regarding the holy man's exceptional merits were made through the proper authorities to the imperial Court; and that the emperor Ch'ien-lung, in accordance with numerous precedents, conferred upon the saint the title of *Mo-wang*.

With regard to the name Fo-yüan-wu, which may be interpreted "the Completely Enlightened Buddha," it seems at least possible that the saint was regarded as the incarnation of one of the Buddhas who—according to the well-known myth—preached the true faith ages before the coming of Śākyamuni. This would explain the phraseology of some of the inscriptions and scrolls with which Mo-wang's hall is adorned: as, for example:

靈感名山顯聖僧
道登彼岸成古佛

(1) I do not mean to imply that the existing figure is a mummy. The mummy (as often happens in such cases) may have shown signs of decay and an image may have been substituted.

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The same belief would account for a stone which is preserved inside the Mo-wang Tien and is said to be marked with the footprint of Jan-têng Buddha (燃燈古佛). This mythical Buddha (whose Sanskrit name is Dipaṁkara) is also known in China as Ting-kuang Fo (定光佛).[1]

Having discovered the inscriptions referred to, I immediately brought them to the notice of the prior, and pointed out the obvious inferences. With a rather bad grace he admitted that the enthroned image (which he still maintained was a real human body) was no other than the Mo-wang of the inscription, and that Mo-wang was only a monk or hermit who had acquired local fame as a wonder-working saint. When I asked why he encouraged people to suppose that the body was that of the emperor Shun-chih, he merely remarked that it was not his business to correct people's erroneous ideas. Had candour prompted him to make a further confession, he would probably have said that he did not see his way to destroy a legend which was a useful source of revenue to the temple; for there is no doubt that numbers of the illiterate pilgrims who visit T'ien-t'ai at the present time do so in the sincere belief that the saint they come to worship once occupied the throne of China.

Apart from the foolish identification of Mo-wang with a Chinese emperor (which I am inclined to regard as of comparatively recent origin) there is nothing very remarkable in the story of the saint of T'ien-t'ai, who was probably a harmless lunatic. Dryden may have been wrong when he said that a thin partition divides madness from genius, but he would have given expression to a widespread belief, not confined to China, if he had said that madness is closely allied to sanctity. "It is well known," says Yrjö-Hirn, "that on the lower stages of culture lunatics are generally considered as possessed by some divinity, and are consistently treated

(1) Relics of this mythical Buddha are said to be preserved in a pagoda in the T'ung-chou district, east of Peking. See 順天府志, Part 71, page 4.

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with a kind of religious respect."[1] Even Confucius, according to a canonical story, is said to have regarded a certain madman as capable of giving wise counsel.[2] Buddhist hagiology contains many stories of sainted lunatics. The life of one of these holy persons is preserved in the official annals of the Peking Prefecture. His eccentricities gained for him the name of Ch'ih Ho-shang (痴和尚)—The Idiot Monk. One of his peculiarities was that he went bare-footed in winter and summer, because the wearing of shoes made it very difficult to avoid treading on insects and thereby infringing the Buddhist commandment against the taking of life. When spoken to, he would either refrain from making any reply at all, or would utter some remark which startled people by its profound sagacity. But if they followed this up by further questions, his talk drifted off into vague foolishness.

My third visit to the temple took place last summer (17th August, 1919). The prior, Yü Tsung (玉宗), whose acquaintance I had made on the two previous occasions, was still in residence, but he had forgotten his former confession or regretted having made it; for he again stoutly maintained that the image was in truth the "flesh-body" (肉身) of the emperor Shun-chih. When I reminded him of the embarrassing inscriptions he showed a good deal of ill-temper, and insisted that tradition was more trustworthy than any inscription.

Shortly after this incident I mentioned the story of Mo-wang to one of the uncles of the present boy-emperor—Prince Tsai-t'ao (濤貝勒). This prince paid a special visit to the temple on September 15th last. On his return he informed me that he had inspected the figure with some care and was of opinion that it was merely an image and not a mummy; that it bore no resemblance to any authentic portrait

(1) Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. i, p. 818.

(2) See *Lun Yü* (論語), Bk. xviii, ch. 5. It must be admitted, however, that in the opinion of some commentators the "madman" with whom Confucius wished to converse only feigned madness.

See 順天府志, Part 113, page 44 (b).

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of the emperor Shun-chih; that Yü Tsung (the prior) had made no attempt to connect the image with the emperor, and had admitted to him without any hesitation that it was merely a sainted monk who had lived and died there. It should be added that the prior was doubtless aware of the name of his distinguished visitor; in which case he would realise the impossibility of persuading the prince that the figure before him was the actual body, or even a mere representation, of one of his imperial ancestors.

The general results of our examination of the current legends concerning the emperor Shun-chih may be summed up in a very few words. Firstly, the imperial concubine Tung Kuei-fei was a Manchu lady, and therefore cannot be identified with Tung Hsiao-yüan, the Chinese concubine of the scholar Mao Hsiang; and secondly, the emperor Shun-chih did not become a monk and never went into cloistered retirement either at Wu-t'ai or in the T'ien-t'ai temple. Are we then justified in trusting the official annals in the matter of the death of Shun-chih? Personally I see no adequate reason for doubting them. I believe the emperor died of a wasting disease early in 1661 at the age of twenty-three, and that the end was hastened, though certainly not caused, by the death of the lady Tung Kuei-fei.

It seems hardly necessary to say that we are not wholly dependent on the dynastic records for our information regarding the life and death of the emperor Shun-chih. Corroborative testimony can readily be obtained from contemporary writers who were in a position to know the facts. One of the most trustworthy of these witnesses is a very distinguished Chinese (not Manchu) official whose duties brought him into personal contact with the emperor during the closing days of the reign. This official (whose name, curiously enough, does not seem to be mentioned by Messrs. Backhouse and Bland in their *Annals and Memoirs*) was Wang Hsi (王熙). He was a mere boy when the Ming dynasty was overthrown, and therefore found it less difficult

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than other upright officials older than himself to devote his life to the loyal service of the new dynasty. His knowledge of Manchu seems to have been partly responsible for his advancement, and he translated classical commentaries into that language. He sometimes attended the emperor on hunting excursions, and among his other honours he received the privileges of riding horses belonging to the imperial stable (賜乘御馬) and sitting in the emperor's presence (賜坐). When he retired from official life at the age of seventy, the emperor K'ang-hsi bestowed various new honours upon him and wrote to him saying, "You have been a loyal servant for many years, and since you retired last year not a day has passed that I have not thought of my old minister" (自去歲告病在家無日不念老臣也). He died in 1703, and was subsequently admitted to the Temple of Worthies (奉持旨入祀賢良祠) under the name of Wang Wên-ching (王文靖).[1]

We have Wang Wên-ching's own authority for the statement that in the winter of 1660–1 the emperor's illness took a turn for the worse (大漸), and that the emperor summoned him to the palace to compose his majesty's Valedictory Edict (遺詔). He tells us that he was present among other high officials when the dying emperor gave his last instructions to those who were to act as regents during the minority of his successor. The emperor's death took place in the Yang-hsin-tien (養心殿)—that palace in the Forbidden City which was long afterwards the residence of the late emperor Kuang-hsü and which is at present the dwelling-place of the boy-emperor Hsüan-t'ung. I may add that in the palace-library I have been shown an unpublished document in which Wang Wên-ching describes in detail the events of the last days of the reign and his own share in them. His narrative of those last days concludes with a description of how, one morning in the spring of 1661, he entered the palace as usual and was met

(1) For accounts of Wang Wên-ching, see 王文靖公事略, the 王文公傳 by 朱錫鬯, and the 順天府志, Part 99, pp. 31 ff. His works have been collected under the title of 文靖公集二十四卷.

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with the news that the struggle was over and that the young emperor had "gone to be a guest on high" (上賓).

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland remark that "the emperor became imbued in his early youth with strong leanings towards the Buddhist ideal of renunciation," and they quote certain couplets written by him in which these leanings are clearly indicated.[1] It is very questionable, however, whether the emperor was actually the author of all the verses and other writings on this subject which are attributed to him. He is credited with the authorship of one such poem which is sometimes published as an appendix to a little Buddhist sutra called *Fo-shuo Ch'u-chia Kung-te Ching* ("On the merits of entering the monkhood)."[2] The last stanza of this poem, if it could be proved to be from the emperor's own pen, would go far to show that he had resolved to become a recluse:

十 八 年 來 不 自 遊
征 南 戰 北 幾 時 休
吾 今 撒 手 歸 山 去
那 管 千 秋 與 萬 秋

But the whole poem is very mediocre in style and phraseology, and competent Chinese scholars ridicule the idea that it can have been written by Shun-chih, who had refined literary tastes and a skilful pen. The poem is full of "tags" which are the common property of monkish versifiers, and I have little doubt it was written by some pious monk who had heard and believed the legend of the emperor's abdication, or who thought he was justified in giving utterance, in the emperor's name, to sentiments which his majesty was commonly believed to have entertained.

Shun-chih, indeed, was under no delusions as to the pomp and glory of kingship. Had he been a contemporary of that brilliant Chinese essayist, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, he would

(1) Op. cit., p. 236.
(2) 佛說出家功德經.

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probably have assented to every word of that writer's melancholy description[1] of the sorrows and disadvantages of royalty—a description which might serve as a commentary on the moralisings of Shakespeare's Henry VI,[2] or as the Chinese equivalent of the "sad stories" asked for by the unhappy Richard II—

> "For God's sake let us sit upon the ground,
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings."

That Shun-chih had grown weary of the burden of empire long before his reign came to an end, I am fully prepared to believe. Quite apart from the delicacy of his constitution, which probably had its share in creating in him a distaste for the wearisome formalities and futilities of a monarch's life, he seems to have been intended by nature to be a pensive student, perhaps even a religious recluse. He would have sympathized not a little, perhaps, with the longings attributed by our dramatist to Richard of England, though in Shun-chih such longings sprang from the depths of his own nature and were not, as in Richard's case, the result of political failures and disasters.

> "I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
> My gorgeous palace for a hermitage;
> My gay apparel for an almsman's gown,
> My figured goblets for a dish of wood;
> My sceptre for a palmer's walking staff,
> My subjects for a pair of carved saints;
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

I contend, however, that it was the grave, and not the hermit's cell, that released the spirit of Shun-chih from its bondage.

It is clear that the emperor was religious, and that he took his religion very seriously. Like his ancestors, he was a Buddhist; and though it is hardly likely that his life was long

(1) 論專制政體有百害於君主而無一利.

(2) See *Third Part of Henry VI, ii, 5.* "O God, methinks it were a happy life," etc.

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enough to enable him to become so profound a Buddhist scholar as was his grandson the emperor Yung-chêng, who is said to have been able to hold his own in disputation with the most learned monks in the empire, Shun-chih was not only well-read in the Mahāyāna scriptures but had imbibed the spirit as well as the mere letter of the sacred books and was probably no stranger to that culminating spiritual experience—mystical illumination. That he was no fanatic, and was deeply interested in religion as such, irrespective of this or that particular manifestation of the religious impulse, is shown by his friendly attitude towards the Catholic missionaries (among whom P. Schall was chiefly distinguished) who lived in his capital and attended his Court.[1] We have it on their authority that he listened with patience and interest to the story of Christ, and wept at the recital of the tragedy of Gethsemane and Calvary. That he himself possessed something of the missionary spirit is shown by his own charming account of how he converted his beloved Tung Kuei-fei from scepticism or indifference to a religious faith as deep and fervent as his own.

With a nature such as his, it would not have been surprising if Shun-chih had actually exchanged his throne for a hermit's cell, especially when the death of Tung Kuei-fei had destroyed the strongest of the bonds that kept him in touch with the world. But I believe that Shun-chih, like the emperor Marcus Aurelius long before him, resisted the impulse to seek among the mountains or desert-places the peace and solitude that cannot be found in royal palaces.

The second emperor of the Ming dynasty is said to have declared that one's first prayer for one's descendants should be that they may be saved from the disaster of being born as members of a royal family (願世世子孫勿生帝王家).

(1) He allowed the Catholic Church in Peking to be rebuilt and presented to it an autograph scroll bearing the characters 欽崇天道. He treated the Catholic missionaries kindly to the end of his life. I may point out incidentally that the complete silence of the missionaries on the subject of the emperor's alleged abdication is additional evidence, though of a negative kind, that no such abdication took place.

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If Shun-chih had been able to gaze into futurity, would he, too, have craved this blessing for his descendants? As to the child who succeeded him upon the throne, he need have had no serious misgivings, for that boy became one of the best and wisest monarchs that ever ruled a great empire, and his reign was at least prosperous if not uniformly happy. But what would the feelings of Shun-chih have been if he, the first of the new dynasty, had been able to see what the future had in store for those unhappy descendants of his under whom the dynasty was to come to its ignoble end? There is a Buddhist story which tells us how the Græco-Bactrian king Milinda was converted by the monk Nāgasena. When the monk had convinced him of the vanity of all earthly glory, the king expressed himself thus: "Now that I have been enlightened, I feel, in my palace, as though I were a captive lion imprisoned in a gorgeous cage. Could I but have my way, I would abandon everything and live as you do, in freedom." If ever there was a palace that deserved the name of a prison, it is that palace in the Forbidden City of Peking, in which the emperor Shun-chih pined for freedom, and in which the last but one of his successors, the emperor Kuang-hsü, ended his dismal days nearly twelve years ago. That ill-omened pile of buildings was an emperor's prison two hundred and sixty years ago, and an emperor's prison it remains to this day.

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COMFORTABLE WORDS IN SICKNESS

BY

YÜAN CHÊN

Translation by SIR E. TRELAWNY BACKHOUSE

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(1) When that day comes that comes to all, we pass and are forgotten.

In the city of Loyang a pestilence is raging and sweeps away young and old.

My friend, Secretary Yü, was just forty; alone in the world, he stood on the threshold of a brilliant future.

Censor Li Ku was thirty-nine and was honored at Court for his character.

Chao Ch'ang had attained the age of eighty-three and had thrice been Viceroy.

In their lives they were separated by variety of circumstance;

To-day all three are denizens of the dark country.

Over each alike loving tears have been shed and their associates mourn equally for their loss.

The same fate awaits the tortoise of immemorial years and the fungus of one morning's span.

For death is impartial and levels all distinctions.

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(2) So be it! I am to-day stricken by sickness, but why should sickness vex me?

If death comes to me to-day, I shall have completed my cycle in this existence:

Though I live to be a hundred, what shall it advantage me?

I follow Buddha and know that this body is but a temporary home.

I only leave this room for the next; why should I be disquieted over my destiny?

My previous existences are of the dead past, but my career still lies ahead of me.

Let me remember that the iourney never ceases; let me doubt not that a road will be found.

(3) The dragon sloughs his coil and lives again: the cicada sheds his scales and renews his song.

How does the soul free itself from the body? Ah! the answer is hidden from our ken.

But let dear friends take comfort and let those of my acquaintance accept this message;

The thought will surely be their inspiration, let the world say what it will.

NOTE.—Yüan Chên (Vide Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* No. 2543) was one of the great poets of the T'ang dynasty and his works are usually published with the poems of his brilliant contemporary, Po Chü-yi.—*E. Trelawny Backhouse.*

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SAINT FRANÇOIS-XAVIER ET LA CHINE

PAR

LE RÉV. PÈRE JOSEPH DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.

Nos lecteurs aimeront peut-être à trouver ici rassemblés les principaux textes qui nous décrivent les relations de l'apôtre de l'Extrême-Orient avec la Chine. Ils sont empruntés à la superbe publication des pères espagnols *Monumenta Xaveriana.*[1] Les deux biographies françaises les plus récentes de Saint François-Xavier, celle du P. Cros[2] et celle du P. Brou[3] ont été aussi largement mises à contribution.

C'est pendant son séjour au Japon que Xavier semble avoir conçu la première idée d'évangéliser la Chine. Dans ses discussions avec les Japonais instruits, et spécialement avec les bonzes, il avait été frappé de l'estime dans laquelle ils tenaient la littérature et la philosophie du grand empire voisin d'où était venue au Japon toute sa civilisation. "Si votre religion est la seule vraie, comment se fait-il que la Chine l'ait ignorée?"[4] lui avaient plus d'une fois répondu ses adversaires. L'apôtre en vint à se demander si la meilleure

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(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Madrid, 1899 sqq. (Dans la collection Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu.)

(2) Paris, 1900.

(3) Paris, 1912.

(4) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, 663.

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manière de convertir le Japon n'était pas de porter l'Evangile en Chine. "La Chine, écrivait-il en 1552, est un pays où peut grandement s'étendre la Loi de Jésus-Christ; et si le christianisme y est reçu, ce sera un grand point pour la destruction des sectes japonaises."[1] Les renseignements que Xavier avait recueillis sur la Chine et ses habitants leur étaient très favorables. "Les Portugais qui sont là nous disent que c'est le pays de la justice, supérieure à ce qu'on voit dans toute la chrétienté. Les chinois que j'ai rencontrés au Japon ou ailleurs, sont très fins, très industrieux, beaucoup plus que les Japonais, et hommes de travail.[2]" D'autres lui avaient vanté l'unité de l'empire chinois sous un monarque qui savait se faire obéir. Que ce souverain se convertisse, ses immenses domaines ne suivraient-ils pas son exemple?[3] Comme, par ailleurs, l'état des missions fondées aux Indes par Xavier nécessitait sa présence, l'apôtre se résolut à profiter d'un navire portugais qui quittait le Bungo en novembre 1551. En décembre de cette année, il était à Sanchoan, où il devait revenir mourir l'année suivante; là il trouvait le vaisseau portugais Santa Croce, qui appartenait à un de ses amis les plus dévoués, Diogo Pereira; il y prit passage jusqu'à Malacca.

Durant la traversée, Xavier fit part à son ami de ses projets sur le céleste Empire. Le plus sûr moyen d'y pénétrer était l'envoi d'une ambassade du vice-roi des Indes à l'empereur de Chine. Pereira en serait chargé; Xavier en ferait partie, et tenterait d'obtenir la permission de prêcher l'Evangile. Le généreux marchand était digne de recevoir les confidences de l'apôtre; il s'offrit à revenir en Chine

(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, 695. Trad. du P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 222.

(2) Ibid., p. 694 sq. Trad. du P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 221.

(3) P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 222. Il est, du reste, à noter, que Xavier, dans son voyage de Malacca au Japon, à bord d'une jonque chinoise, avait fait une dure expérience des défauts des célestes; le patron et l'équipage de la jonque avaient constamment essayé de se dérober aux obligations de leur contrat, et la vue de leurs puériles superstitions avait été pour Xavier une vraie souffrance. (*Monumenta Xavier*. T. I, p. 573. P. Brou, ibid., T. II, p. 119 sqq.)

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l'année suivante, sur le même navire, et à prendre à sa charge tous les frais de l'ambassade.—Le vice-roi des Indes, don Alphonse de Noronha, et l'évêque de Goa, don Jean d'Albuquerque, firent bon accueil au projet, et Pereira reçut du vice-roi des patentes en règle d'ambassadeur.

La jalousie du gouverneur de Malacca, don Alvaro de Ataïde, fit échouer tous ces plans. Furieux de voir un simple marchand recueillir l'honneur et les profits d'une ambassade qui s'annonçait brillante, il retint Pereira à Malacca, et n'autorisa le départ de la Santa Croce pour la Chine qu'après avoir placé à la tête de l'équipage des gens dont il était sûr. La crainte des censures que Xavier, en qualité de nonce apostolique, fit signifier au gouverneur, n'avait pas été capable d'arrêter Ataïde; il se vengea en faisant insulter le Saint par ses gens.[1]

Xavier devait renoncer à entrer en Chine à la suite de l'ambassadeur du roi de Portugal; il ne lui restait qu'à tenter de s'y introduire secrètement, et en risquant les pires dangers. Quoi que pussent lui dire à l'encontre ses amis, il se résolut à ce parti.—En août 1552, la Santa Croce sur laquelle il avait pris passage arrivait au mouillage de Sanchoan;[2] plusieurs navires portugais s'y trouvaient déjà; Xavier rencontrait là quelques amis dévoués qui lui firent fête.—Exclus de l'empire de Chine, les portugais ne pouvaient trafiquer avec les indigénes que par une contrebande sur laquelle les mandarins du Koang-tong, qui en profitaient, fermaient les yeux; des jonques chinoises venaient à Sanchoan apporter les produits locaux, et repartaient chargées des marchandises contenues dans les cales des navires européens.

A peine débarqué, Xavier, tout en exerçant un apostolat actif parmi les portugais, se mit en rapports avec les marchands chinois que le commerce avec les européens avait attirés, et

(1) P. Brou, *St. François-Xavier*, T. II, p. 325 sqq.

(2) San-tchao, les trois iles (三 洲), ou Chang-tch'oan (上 川) au dessus du bras de mer. L'orthographe San-choan est celle des Portugais; l'orthographe Sancian, derivée du latin Sancianum, a passé dans les lettres des missionnaires. (Garaix. *A Sancian; la tombe de St. François-Xavier*, p. I, Hokienfou, 1907.

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s'efforça d'en trouver un qui consentit à le jeter sur la côte cantonaise ; presque tous déclarèrent franchement qu'ils ne tenaient pas à risquer leurs têtes en introduisant un étranger dans leur patrie ; un seul se montra prêt à tenter l'entreprise ; pour 200 cruzados, il consentait à conduire Xavier sur la côte, à le cacher dans sa maison, puis à le déposer devant une porte de Canton. " J'irai immédiatement chez le gouverneur, écrivait Xavier. Je lui dirai que nous sommes venus pour aller voir le roi de Chine. Je lui montrerai la lettre du seigneur évêque (de Goa) adressée au roi, et par laquelle il déclare que Son Altesse m'envoie prêcher la loi de Dieu. Au dire des indigénes, nous courons deux dangers. D'abord il se peut que l'homme qui nous porte, après avoir touché les 200 cruzados, nous abandonne en quelque île déserte, ou nous jette à la mer, par crainte du gouverneur. Ensuite, s'il nous méne à Canton, et que nous paraissions devant le gouverneur, celui-ci nous fera mettre à la torture, ou jeter en prison ; car notre démarche est chose inouie."[1] L'apôtre acceptait joyeusement cette perspective, rappelant la parole du Maitre : " Qui aime son âme la perdrer ; qui le hait en ce monde la sauve pour l'éternité."[2]

Cette lettre était du 22 octobre. La jonque qui l'emporta remmenait le seul compagnon européen que Xavier eut gardé près de lui, le Frère Alvaro Ferreira, de trop faible santé pour affronter les labeurs et les périls de l'entreprise ; le missionnaire n'avait plus avec lui que deux serviteurs, le malabar Christophe, et le jeune chinois Antoine élève du collège de Goa. Les navires portugais, leurs affaires terminés, quittaient Sanchoan l'un après l'autre ; seule la Santa-Croce y restait à la fin de novembre.—A la date fixée, le marchand chinois ne parut pas, et il fallut perdre tout espoir de débarquer sur la côte cantonaise.[3] " On dirait qu'alors les espérances qui donnaient au pauvre corps usé une vigueur factice faisant

(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, p. 783, 784. Trad. du P. Brou.
(2) *Joan*, 12, 25.—*Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, p. 785.
(3) Récit du chinois Antoine dans Cros. *St. François-Xavier*, T. II, p. 346.

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défaut tout-d'un-coup, l'organisme retomba sur lui-même, à jamais impuissant."[1] François, pris de terribles fièvres, et peut-être d'ure pleurésie, manquant de tout, souffrant du froid et de la faim dans la pauvre paillotte qu'il occupait, essaya le 22 novembre de chercher asile à bord de la Santa Croce; le roulis qui secouait le vaisseau lui était intolérable, il revint à terre le lendemain; un Portugais plus charitable que les autres le transporta dans sa cabane et le fit soigner; le saint s'évanouit à la suite de l'opération, sans doute maladroitement pratiquée. La fièvre augmentait; le père était incapable de prendre aucun aliment. Le 24, il eut quelques accès de délire, pendant lesquels il proféra des paroles dans une langue qu'Antoine ne comprenait pas—peut-être le basque, la langue de son enfance;[2] d'autres souvent répétées, furent retenues par son fidèle compagnon. "Tu autem meorum peccatorum et delictorum miserere. Jesu Fili David miserere mei." Le lundi 28 novembre le Saint perdit la parole pendant trois jours, ne reconnaissant personne et ne mangeant rien. Le jeudi Ier décembre, la parole et la connaissance lui revinrent, et Antoine l'entendait répéter: "Très Sainte Trinité, Père, Fils, et Saint Esprit." Le chinois continue: "Avec ces paroles et d'autres semblables, il demeura jusqu'au vendredi à la nuit. Et un peu avant qu'il ne fit jour, comme il allait baissant, je lui mis un cierge à la main; et le nom de Jésus sur les lèvres, il rendit l'âme. C'était un Samedi, avant l'aube, le 3 décembre de l'année 1552."[3]

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(1) *Monumentum Xavier*, T. II, p. 895 sqq.—cf. P. Cros, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 348 (note).

(2) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. II, p. 895 sqq.—cf. P. Cros, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 348 (note).

(3) *Monumenta Xaveriana*. La question de la date de la mort de Saint François-Xavier a été, on le sait, l'objet d'ardentes discussions. Celle du 2 décembre, insérée au Bréviaire romain, était, on peut le dire, malgré quelques divergences, classique jusqu'à la fin du 19° siècle. Le R. P. Cros découvrit alors, et publia dans son tome II, un récit du chinois Antoine, qui lui paraissait authentique, et amenait à la date du 27 novembre pour la mort. Le R. P. Brou admit ses conclusions (T. II, p. 442). Elles furent attaquées par les PP. Astrain et Michel. La publication, au tome II des *Monumenta Xaveriana*, d'uu texte du chinois Antoine, plus complet que celui du P. Cros, semblant offrir de meilleures garanties

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A part un ou deux, les Portugais de la Santa Croce avaient montré une indifférence affligeante pour la maladie de Xavier. L'apôtre mort, ils ne surent même pas lui faire de dignes funérailles. Un seul d'entre eux vint aider le chinois Antoine et deux mulâtres à ensevelir le corps; les autres étaient restés à bord du navire "à cause du froid qui était grand."

Au moment de déposer le cercueil dans la fosse, un des mulâtres eut l'idée qu'il serait bon de répandre dans le coffre, au dessous et au dessus du corps, quelques sacs de chaux; elle consumerait les chairs, et ne laisserait que le squelette, qu'on pourrait plus façilement rapporter aux Indes. Ainsi fut fait, après quoi le cercueil fut descendu et recouvert de terre.

Deux mois et demi se passèrent; vers le milieu de février, la Santa Croce allait reprendre la mer. Le fidèle Antoine vint trouver le capitaine. "Eh donc Senhor, lui dit-il, il demeurerait ici le corps du Père Maitre François qui était un saint?—Je sais, Antoine, répondit l'officier, qu'il était ce que vous dites. . . . Mais que voulez-vous que nous fassions, car je ne sais si le corps est tel que nous le puissions emporter. J'enverrai voir, et s'il peut être pris, nous le prendrons." Un Portugais de confiance se rendit immédiatement au lieu de la sépulture, déterra le coffre et l'ouvrit, et trouva le corps du père tout-entier, tel qu'on l'avait enterré, "sans puanteur ni mauvaise odeur autre que celle de le chaux qui se trouvait là." Le saint corps fut apporté, dans son cercueil, à bord de la Santa Croce, qui fit voile le 17 février vers les Indes; le 22 mars, elle était en vue de Malacca, et le triomphe commençait pour François.[1]

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d'authenticité, tranché la débat, en faveur de la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre. (T. II p. 787, 792).

La controversé a été très clairement resumée par le P. Brou dans un article des *Recherches de science religieuse*. Mai–septembre, 1916, p. 328. L'auteur se rallie à l'opinion qui donne la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre comme celle de la mort de François.

(1) Dans tout cet exposé je n'ai fait que résumer le récit du Chinois Antoine (*Monumenta Xaveriana*, *l. c.*—Traduction du P. Brou, *l. c.*, p. 368 sqq.) Plus tard les Portugais qui avaient délaissé Xavier mourant publièrent pour se disculper d'autres récits; ils ne méritent pas la même créance.

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La fosse dans laquelle avait reposé deux mois et demi le corps de l'apôtre devait devenir pour ses frères un lieu de pélerinage. Dès l'année suivante, le Fr. Pierre de Alcazova, revenant du Japon, s'arrêtait à Sanchoan, et allait prier près du "trou dans lequel on avait enseveli le corps" du Père Maitre François.[1]

En 1565, treize ans après la mort de François, huit pères jésuites, avec le P. François Perez pour supérieur, s'établissaient à Macao; ils y fondaient une résidence qui devait servir de sanatorium aux missionnaires du Japon; le fidèle Antoine, témoin des dernières heures de François, et qui avait marqué de pierres l'emplacement de la fosse où le corps du saint avait reposé deux mois, résida dans la maison des pères de Macao pendant les dernières années de sa vie; il est à croire qu'il revint plus d'une fois à Sanchoan, et y conduisit peut-être quelques religieux.

Le fait est qu'en 1639 les pères de Macao élevèrent sur la tombe du Saint la pierre qui existe encore aujourd'hui. Une des inscriptions qui y furent gravées est concue en ces termes. "Aqui foi sepultado S. Francisco Xavier da Companhia de Jesus, Apostolo di Oriente." "Ici fut enseveli S. François-Xavier, de la Compagnie de Jésus, apôtre de l'Orient." Les pères se considéraient donc comme certains de l'emplacement exact de la tombe.

La pierre tombale fut renversée par les indigènes, qui croyaient trouver dessous des trésors. En 1688, le P. Philippe Carossi, S.J., passant à Sanchoan, la fit relever.

En 1698, l'Amphitrite, qui amenait en Chine onze missionnaires français, abordait à Sanchoan le 6 octobre, et les pères faisaient au tombeau du saint un pélerinage dont le P. de Prémare a laissé, dans une lettre au P. de la Chaise, le touchant récit.[2] L'équipage de l'Amphitrite, sauvé par l'intercession de Xavier d'une grave tempête, avait voulu contribuer, par de généreuses aumomes, à l'édification d'une chapelle sur le saint tombeau.

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(1) P. Cros, *l. c.*, T. 2, p. 362.
(2) Canton, 1699. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, T. 3, p. 13 sqq.

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En 1700, les PP. Turcotti et Laureati fondaient à Sanchoan, avec la permission du vice-roi de Canton, une résidence, à une lieue de la sépulture, et élevaient un édicule au dessus de celle-ci; la chapelle en pierre, formait un carré de 3m. 54 de côté; elle était surmontée d'une croix.[1]

En 1701, l'Amphitrite, amenant de nouveaux missionnaires français, reparaissait à Sanchoan, et le P. de Chavagnac, dans une lettre du 30 décembre 1701, nous a décrit la piété de l'équipage français envers l'apôtre des Indes, qui venait une seconde fois de sauver l'Amphitrite du naufrage. "D'abord, après avoir fait une décharge de canon, l'on entonna solennellement les litanies de ce grand saint. On continua ensuite, pendant plus de quinze jours que nous fumes arrêtés là, à honorer en diverses façons l'Apôtre des Indes. Nous allions presque tous les jours dire la Messe sur son tombeau, et tout l'équipage y fit ses dévotions, avec une piété qui nous donna beaucoup de joie et de consolation."[2]

Sans doute les pères de Macao firent d'autres pélerinages à Sanchoan, pendant ce début du dix-huitiéme siècle, où la faveur de Kang-hi leur rendait faciles les courses apostoliques; aucune trace ne nous est restée de ces voyages. Les persécutions qui marquèrent si tristement les trois derniers quarts du dix-huitième siècle durent en rendre la continuation impossible.

En 1813, un peu de paix étant revenue, l'évêque de Macao, Mgr. Francisco Chacim, put faire un pélerinage au tombeau, en compagnie de nombreux notables de la colonie portugaise; il en fit rédiger le récit par son secrétaire;[3] la pierre érigée en 1639 subsistait encore, mais la chapelle était en ruines.

En 1862, les jésuites rentrent à Macao, dont ils avaient été expulsés par ordre de Pombal en 1759. Deux ans après, le R. P. Rondina, supérieur, conduisait à Sanchoan un

(1) Lettre du P. Castner, l'architecte, au R. P. Thyrse Gonzalez, général. Dans le Weltbott N° 309.
(2) *Lettres édifiantes*, T. 3, p. 51 sqq.
(3) Citée par le P. Garaix, *A Sancian*, p. 16 sqq.

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pélerinage de plus de cent personnes.[1] Dès lors, les catholiques de Hongkong, Canton, et Macao, aimèrent à venir prier à Sanchoan.

Le plus zélé promoteur du culte de l'apôtre des Indes au lieu témoin de ses dernières souffrances fut Monseigneur Guillemin, des Missions Etrangères, préfet Apostolique du Koangtong, dont relevait Sanchoan. Par ses soins, et grâce à l'appui que lui prêta le comte de Lallemand, Ministre de France à Péking, les difficultés qui s'opposaient à la construction d'une église (mauvais vouloir des autorités chinoises, pénible transport des matériaux, gêne pécuniaire) furent surmontées; deux chapelles s'élevèrent dans l'île, l'une au dessus de la tombe de S. François-Xavier, l'autre entre deux villages, qui devait servir d'église à la mission. La bénédiction de la chapelle de la tombe eut lieu le 25 avril 1869, en présence du chancelier du consulat de France à Canton, de missionnaires français, italiens, portugais et de pélerins venus de Canton, Hongkong et Macao. La chapelle de 20 mètres de long sur 10 de large, avec un clocher de 23 à 24 mètres de haut, est de style gothique. Une belle cloche, offerte par l'impératrice Eugénie, toujours si généreuse pour les missions, réjouit les pélerins de ses sons joyeux.[2] Plus tard une grande croix de granit, et une belle statue de bronze de l'apôtre des Indes, s'élevèrent sur deux sommets de l'ile.

En 1884, les deux chapelles de Sanchoan furent odieusement saccagées et pillées lors de la rupture entre la France et la Chine. Jusqu'en 1904, l'apostolat végéta dans l'ile; aucun prêtre n'y résidait.

Alors le Père E. Thomas, des Missions Etrangères fut envoyé par Monseigneur Mérel pour reprendre possession du poste. L'église paroissiale et la chapelle du tombeau furent réparées; les catéchumènes commoncèrent à affluer.[3]

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(1) Récit envoyé aux *Etudes* de Paris, et publié par elles en 1866; T. XI, p. 549.

(2) Lettres de Monseigneur Guillemin et du P. Osouf dans les *Annales de la propagation de la foi* septembre et novembre 1869, p. 397, 411.

(3) Sur tous ces faits je me suis contenté de résumer l'ouvrage cité plus haut du R. P. Garaix.

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Un événement récent a rendu plus actif le mouvement des conversions. En 1910 et 1911, des brigands venus de Canton envahirent l'ile à plusieurs reprises et saccagèrent les villages. Les notables, à bout d'expédients, vinrent supplier le missionnaire catholique, auquel ils avaient jusque-là fait une opposition acharnée, de venir à leur aide. Monseigneur Mérel, sur la demande du Père Thomas, obtint du gouverneur de Canton l'envoi à Sanchoan de deux canonnières chargées de soldats qui eurent vite fait de remettre l'ordre. Les brigands massacrés ou en fuite, la population ne se montra pas ingrate envers celui qui seul avait pu la sauver de la ruine.

Des milliers de catéchumènes se présentèrent ; plusieurs centaines de baptisés sont déjà groupés autour des sanctuaires,[1] et l'on peut prévoir le jour où l'ile sanctifiée par la mort de Xavier sera une terre chrétienne.

[N. B. Cette notice est la première d'un recueil de Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Missionnaires jésuites del' ancienne Mission de Chine qui paraitra prochainement à T'ou-se-wé dans la collection des *Varietés Sinologiques*. Ces notices, dues au R. S. al. Pfister, S.J., n'avàient pu être encore éditées, la mort de l'auteur, et les occupations de ses successeurs à Zikawei, n'ayant pas permit de les mettre au point. Bien des sinoloques les ont déjà consultées dans l'édition autographiée.]

(1) Lettres du P. E. Thomas dans *Relations de Chine*, avril 1914, p. 359 sqq.

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THE FIRE-PROOF WAREHOUSES OF LIN-AN

It may be worth while to record a word, or rather a use; which seems to have escaped the notice of the lexicographers; that is to say of the *P'ei wên yün ju*, *Chêng tzŭ t'ung*, *K'ang-hsi tzŭ tien*, *Tz'ŭ yüan*, Couvreur (1904), Giles (1912), Wieger-Davrout (1915), etc. The use in question is the use of 塌, *t'a*, in combination with 坊, *fang*, or 房, *fang*, to designate some sort of *warehouse*. In the 都城紀勝, *tu ch'êng chi shêng*, a little pamphlet about 杭州, Hang-chou, written A.D. 1235 (reprinted in the 武林掌故叢編, *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*), fol. 15, is the following paragraph, headed, 坊院, Fang Yüan: 柳永詠錢塘詞云參差一萬人家此元豐以前語也今中興行都已百餘年其戶口蕃息近萬餘家城之南西北三處各數十里人烟生聚市井坊陌數日經行不盡各可比外路一小州郡足見行都繁盛而城中北關水門內有水數十里曰白洋湖其富家於水次起迭塌坊十數所爲屋千餘間小者亦有數百餘間以寄藏都城店鋪及客旅物貨四維皆水亦可以防避風燭又可免盜賊甚爲都城富室之便其他州郡無此雖荆南沙市太平州黃池皆客商所聚亦無此等坊院.

This may be roughly rendered: "Liu Yung's *Poem in praise of Ch'ien-t'ang* says, 'Ten thousand families huddled together.' This was written before Yüan-fêng (A.D. 1078–1086). Now that prosperity has been restored and the place

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has been the provisional capital for more than a century, the population has increased until it approaches about a million families. For many miles to the south, west and north of the city wall, the smoking hearths of human habitations are crowded together, with markets, stores and streets of shops, so that you may walk through them for several days without having traversed the whole; each suburb being comparable to a small town in a country department or district—proof enough of the importance and prosperity of the provisional capital. And inside the walls, inside the Pei-kuan water-gate, there are several tens of *li* of water called the Pai yang lake; and wealthy houses have built in the water a series of *t'a fang*, between ten and twenty of which form buildings of over a thousand divisions, while even the smaller ones have several hundred divisions or more;—in which to store the goods of the shops in the metropolis and of the merchants from other places. They are surrounded with water which both serves as a protection against storm and fire and saves them from burglars. These are a great convenience to the rich houses of the metropolis, not found in other places. Even Sha-shih in Ching-nan and Huang-ch'ih in T'ai-p'ing chou have no such warehouses, though they are both places where merchants congregate."

The same passage in an amplified form comes in the 夢粱錄 *Mêng liang lu*, 1274 (reprint in *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien)*, c. xix, fol. 7, 8, under the heading 塌房, T'a fang. The sentence in question reads: 且城郭內北關水門裏有水路週迴數里自梅家橋至白洋湖方家橋直到法物庫市舶前有慈元殿及富豪內侍諸司等人家於水次起造塌房數十所爲屋數千間專以假賃與市郭間鋪席宅舍及客旅寄藏物貨幷動具等物四面皆水不惟可避風燭亦可免偷盜極爲利便蓋置塌房家月月取索假賃者管巡廊錢會顧養人力遇夜巡警不致疏虞其他州郡... 亦恐無此等穩當房屋矣. 淳祐臨安志 *Shun-yu Lin-an chih*, c. 1250 (reprint in *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*), c. vii, fol. 8v°. 塌方橋, T'a-fang ch'iao comes after, or to the north of 東橋, Tung ch'iao, in the list of bridges; and in the same place in

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the 咸淳臨安志, *Hsien-shun Lin-an chih*, c. 1275, c. xxi, fol. 2r°. In these works this bridge is described as in front of (前) or to the east of (東) the 御酒庫, *Yü chiu k'u*, and in the later edition it is named 場方橋 on the map of the city (府城圖), near the north-east corner of what was later and until recently the Examination Hall (貢院), quite near, that is to say, to the large pond which is still called 白洋池, Pai yang ch'ih. And the name occurs in the same position (曰東曰場方) in the 萬曆杭州府志, 1579, c. xlv, fol. 1v°, showing that this name of the bridge at least had not been forgotten at the end of the sixteenth century.

To kill two birds with one stone, it may be pointed out how exact an illustration the passage quoted is of a part of Odoric's account of Hang-chou. He says: "And there be also great suburbs which contain a greater population than even the city itself. For the city hath twelve chief gates, and from each of them cities extend to a distance of some eight miles, each one greater than Venice is or Padua. So that you may for six or seven days travel continually about one of these suburbs, and yet shall you seem to have gone but a very little way. This city is situated on lagoons of standing water with canals like the city of Venice."—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, pp. 194–5. And, lastly, the *t'a fang* themselves, these "substantial buildings," may be the "lofty towers of stone" which have puzzled readers of Marco Polo, who says: "The houses of the city are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire; for most of the houses themselves are of timber, and fires are very frequent in the city."—*Marco Polo* (Yule-Cordier), vol. II, p. 187—or in the old French: "Il hi a maintes lieles maisonz en la ville et por toute la cité a et ça, et la grant tore de pieres là où les jens portent toutes lor couses guant por la cité se prent feu; et sachiés qe mout sovent sa prent le feu en la ville por ce qe il hi a plosors maisonz de leign."—*Recueil de Voyages*, I, p. 169. The Ramusian version is: "There is in the same way a very broad canal which runs parallel to the said street along the back of the said squares, and on the near bank of this there are built great houses of stone where all

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the merchants who come from India, and from other parts, deposit their goods and merchandise."—*Ramusio*, vol. II, 1583, fol. 45 D; and again (fol. 47 A): "In this city there are built in each street stone towers to which, in case any house catches fire (as often happens since many are built of timber), the people take their goods for safety."

Comparatively lofty walls of rammed earth, standing on solid stone bases which are sometimes eight or ten feet high, with their whitewash reflecting in the summer sunshine all the colors of the gay scenes that pass below them, are the most notable and dignified architectural feature of modern Hang-chou, and they are built round the larger shops and stores and houses (notably on the canal-sides, but not confined to any one part of the city) for the very purpose of protecting them from fire.

I have said that the *t'a fang* may be Marco Polo's lofty towers, but it must be confessed that 塌, *t'a*, gives no suggestion of height, but indicates rather a *cellar* or *subterranean vault*. Morrison and Williams alone of the six foreign dictionaries at my disposal give this meaning of *t'a*—"below the surface of the ground," although it stands first (地底下也) in *K'ang-hsi*, *Hsin tzŭ tien*, and *Ts'ŭ yüan*. The subsoil of the northern and eastern parts of Hang-chou, being, I believe, principally sand, and well below the level of both Lake and River, hardly seem suitable for cellars, and the only such excavation of which I have heard, the treasury beneath the pond where the big turtles were in front of the old Provincial Treasurer's *ya mên*, was at the foot of the City Hill (城隍山) and may be supposed to have been cut in solid rock.

Professors Giles and Pelliot, who have very kindly read over the above notes, suggest that 迭, *tieh*, in the *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* should be corrected to 造, *tsao*, as in the later text; and agree in thinking the *t'a fang* less likely to have been vaults than towers.

A photograph and a brief account of the modern towers, called simply 樓, *lou*, which are common in Shantung, will be found in *J.N.C.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XLIII, p. 21. C. M.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

FURTHER NOTE ON FOOT-BINDING

BY

L. C. Arlington

A reviewer in the Times *Literary Supplement* for May 1919 says that I "refer the custom of foot-binding to an ancient date on grounds which seem to be inadequate." Because an article depicted two ladies with sharp-pointed shoes, it does not follow that he conceived of their feet as being of "unnatural shape." Quite true! I was, however, only quoting Yüan Mei. Since reading the above criticism, I have looked up a few other authorities, including Yüan Mei, who appears to have given the subject considerable attention. According to the 宋書禮志 we find that in olden times the "shape of men's clogs were round, and that of women's square" (男子履圓女子履方). This probably only means that the shoes or clogs worn by men and women were of a different style, as they are at the present day. It is also stated in the above work that in ancient times women wore their dresses very long purposely to hide their feet. To prove this, he cites two cases: that of 愼夫人, the concubine of Han Wên Ti (179 B.C.) and that of the wife of Wang Mang (33 B.C.–23 A.D.) who it is said wore their dresses exceedingly *short* with

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a view of setting an example in economy, which action was extolled as being virtuous. From this we may gather tha' the women in olden times wore long skirts in order to h' their big(?) feet.

Foot-binding was also practised by men. The Shih Ching sentence 赤芾金舄 "red knee-caps and golden shoes," is said by Pu Tzŭ-hsia (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1667) in his 小傳 to refer to foot-binding.[1] He says that 幅 means to bind the feet by oneself (幅偪也所以自偪束也). And Chêng Hsüan (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 274), in a note on the Shih Ching says that 行縢 is the modern foot-bandage (如今行縢也行而緘足故曰行縢).[2] Also that 邪幅 means to bind them in a twisted manner, overlapped in layers. In those days the Chinese only used mats; there were no chairs or tables. This is evident from the following passage taken from the above authority: 衛禆師聲子襪而登席出公怒其無禮. "In the feudal state of Wei of the Chou dynasty, when the Controller of Markets, Shêng Tzŭ, appeared before his chief on the mat with his *socks* on, the latter reprimanded him for disrespect." As they were not permitted to wear shoes or socks when appearing in polite society, they were, perforce, obliged to bandage their feet. This custom referred to both men and women. Yüan Mei in a note here says: 蓋雖脫履解襪而足上自有邪幅裹之故也想婦人亦當如男子矣.

It is therefore possible that in this way the bandages of the women were drawn tighter and tighter ending in the compression in vogue at present. Giles hits the mark when he says "It may be that moderate compression of the feet, in order to make them look small, may gradually have led up to the cruel practice of to-day."[3] It is considered the height of fashion for a woman to walk gracefully (月出皎兮佼人了

(1) Pu Tzŭ-hsia was born in 507 B.C.

(2) Chêng Hsüan lived between A.D. 127-200, yet he says that the 行縢 are the *modern* foot-bandages. This in itself shows that the custom of using foot-cloths is very ancient. The term is now unknown. Giles translates it "cords bound round the legs—of soldiers."

(3) *Adversaria Sinica*, I, No. 9.

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兮舒窈糾兮). Cf. Allen's *Shih Ching*, "The dove in the magpie's nest" and Note on p. 22. Here 舒 has the meaning of "softly" while 窈 and 糾 refer to style or a graceful swaying gait in walking. Chang Hêng[1] (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 55) in a poem on the Southern Capital (南都賦) has the stanza: 羅襪躡蹀而容與, "the ladies in their silken hose following walk along slowly and gracefully." And the following lines were written by one 焦仲卿: 足下躡絲履纖纖作細步.

From the above excerpts it is obvious that in very early times women walked somewhat after the fashion of the small-footed women of the present day, with a slow and slightly swaying motion, the result of having bound feet.

Yüan Mei in a note here says: 既以緩行爲貴則纏束使小在古容或有之.

Yen Shih-ku (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 2472), in a note commenting on a passage in the 急就章 to the following effect 鞮鞮邛角褐襪巾, says that 鞮 is a shoe with turned-up toes and flat soles (now mostly worn by children) and colloquially called 跣子. He defines 鞮 as a "small shoe made of thin hide"—probably a sandal or buskin.

The 邛角 are clogs with tooth-edged soles to prevent the wearer from slipping during rainy weather. The 褐襪 are, of course, cotton socks. 巾 here has the meaning of foot-cloth or wrapper. The passage quoted follows: 鞮韋履也頭深而銳平底俗名跣子鞮薄革小履也巾者裹足巾若今褎足布.

Yen Shih-ku has also a note on a passage taken from the 漢書地理志 as under: 趙女彈絃跕躧. Yen says that 躧 is interchanged with 屣 and 跕 is defined as a small slipper. That is, "she played the lute and kept time with her slipper." The implication here is surely that of praising her small feet, rather than that of playing the lute.

There is also a poem by Po Chü-i (Giles *Biographical Dictionary*, 1654), as follows: 小頭鞋履窄衣裳天寶末年時世妝. Also a poem by Han Chih-jao (韓致堯), also of the T'ang, as follows: 六寸膚圓光緩緩.

(1) Chang Hèng was born in A.D. 78.

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The above quotations all refer to small-sized feet and not to bow-shaped shoes. To quote Yüan Mei again: 皆極言其小而終不言其弓可見潘妃之步金蓮花亦非弓也.

There are many passages scattered through Chinese literature which particularly dwell upon the smallness of women's feet, but we will give only one more passage from the Shih Chi, 史記 chap. 貨殖列傳: 今夫趙女鄭姬設形容揳鳴琴撫長袂躡利屣.

The last three characters refer to sharp-pointed shoes—used in posturing during the Chou dynasty. 屣 is interchanged with 屣. Although there is nothing specially mentioned in all this about "unnatural" feet, and indeed the Chinese apparently do not think them so, the inferences are obviously so intended, otherwise it is difficult to understand all these allusions to "small-feet," stockings, shoes, foot-bandages, and slow and graceful movements in walking, the natural result of having bound feet.

We think the following will interest English readers, whose ideas on the subject are vague.

The "Institut de France" includes five sections, as follows:—

(1) Académie francaise.
(2) Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
(3) Académie des Sciences.
(4) Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.
(5) Académie de Beaux-Arts.

The Collège de France and the "Ecole des Langues Orientales vivantes" are two quite distinct and independent institutions. The names of Chavannes and Pelliot are connected with the former, while Cordier and Vissière belong to the latter. Chavannes has been succeeded by Henri Maspero, not by Pelliot as we announced in error in our July number last year. Professor Cordier is attached to the Académie des Inscriptions also. We are indebted to him for the above information, and are glad to be able to present our readers with the portrait of this old Shanghai resident and former Librarian of our Royal Asiatic Branch Society.

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RECENT LITERATURE

English-Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language (官 話), by K. HEMELING, PH.D., Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs; Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, IV + 1726 pp., 1916, $25.

This invaluable work has now been long enough before the public for its merits to be well known and appreciated, and not much more is necessary than to remind students, especially newcomers, that such a helpful book has been prepared for them. The completeness and accuracy of the work are quite surprising. In a few cases only where we have tested or used the dictionary we have been dubious as to the translation given; but then we have remembered that the particular expression we have always used in that example may not reckon as pure *Kuan hua* at all; so difficult is it to decide what is the "Standard Spoken Language." But where there is no doubt of terms being standard we have found that the translations or equivalents are very satisfactory, full and clear. As to "new terms," an annual supplement would be required to keep pace with them, but the great majority of them up to date, together with scientific or technical expressions, are to be found here. Such scientific terms, selected for use in Chinese Universities by a Commission of the Ministry of Education, are distinguished by the addition of the characters

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部定 (*pu ting*); others are marked where advisable by 俗, 文 and 新. All characters are followed by the romanization, which is of course strictly Wade's system.

We are grateful to the compiler for the excessive care with which he has done this mass of work, though it should never have been undertaken single-handed, and also to the Maritime Customs for the liberal views it takes of its opportunities and duties. We owe the Service a good deal for its encouragement of such literature in the past: the present work, for example, is based on an earlier dictionary by Stent of the Customs.

While we can give praise without stint to the compilation we have serious fault to find with the *format* of the volume. The printing is done excellently, but the book is a thick, dumpy one, which cannot be grasped by one hand while the other turns the leaves, and which cannot lie fairly open and flat on the table; it should have been half the thickness with twice the surface.

We strongly advise all who are engaged in translation work and moreover all who wish for more than mediocrity in the knowledge of Chinese to get this work and consult it constantly.

Peking: A historical and intimate description of its chief places of interest, by JULIET BREDON. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1920, $10.

This is so good a book that we wish it had been a little better, as it might easily have been. It is a nondescript work as the subtitle indicates, not exact and detailed enough for a guide-book, but still not a very literary work; it is an "intimate" description by one who knows the subject well, loves it perhaps too well, and writes of it in a pleasant style of somewhat monotonous mild brilliance.

To many readers the excess of the authoress' enthusiasm will be an irritation. No doubt Peking is one of the great cities with a charm or even a fascination for every intelligent visitor; but when we read on the first page the opinion that "Peking has the richest and most attractive personality of

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any city in the world, not excepting Moscow or Constantinople" we feel the key of the book is pitched too high and we are prepared for a screech here and there on the top notes. At the risk of seeming ungracious we quote a few examples of useless exaggeration. On p. 13 we are told "nowhere can we read more dramatic sermons in stones." Surely Rome runs it close, especially as the stones are there, while in Peking, as the authoress admits, there is little that is really ancient. On page 16 we read that "none can compare with Peking," and this seems to refer to the "noble battlements." But the walls of Peking are certainly not the highest or the most striking in China. The new police force is "the most reasonable and courteous in the world" (p. 48); note the recurring "in the world"; those of London and Florence must take second places. A statue is spoken of as "one of the most famous in the world" (p. 187), though this *may* mean only among images of Buddha, in which case the Venus de Milo does not compete. On p. 254 we are asked why the blossoms on fruit trees "should be lovelier here than anywhere else in the world." And of a fountain we are told "the colour of the water is not like anything else in the world" (p. 261). In both cases it is an illusion, due to that "ideal soul haze" through which the writer says nature and men must be looked at (p. 307). But unless this haziness of vision is not carefully allowed for a ludicrous result may follow. Thus we are invited to note a great bell, "how gracefully it hangs" (p. 204). Now as we are told it is the largest hanging bell in the world and weighs from twenty to eighty thousand pounds, we feel sure it simply hangs straightly vertical like all great bells, not "tip-tilted like the petal of a flower." Another false note occurs on p. 220 where we learn that at the Po Yün Kuan "butterflies and birds, the flowers and foliage, the sweet summer itself, only play at dying. They seem to go, but they all come back again when the snow has melted." We have noticed this phenomenon in many other localities.

There is too much of this pretty writing and too careless a use of English as where "infinitely older" occurs several

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times to denote an earlier date of three or four centuries. The fact is that while to the historical student or the tripper from Fifth Avenue Peking has a charm and an interest that is unique, to the coldly observant eye it is full of mouldy or reeking squalor (right up to the palace gates, the authoress tells us, as bad till recently as Seoul or Baghdad), with few fine buildings except the palaces, no promenades, no Rue de Rivoli or Regent Street, and apparently inhabited wholly by coolies or men in coolie dress. Will it ever attract Asia as the glories of Rome attract Europe?

If space permitted we could point out places where the history is either incorrect or inadequate, but we hasten to say that the book is indispensable henceforth to all who would know Peking. Favier's work was cumbersome and had many errors. This new book is far more exact, though without many references to authorities; it is very readable, and it covers the whole ground both inside and immediately around the city. Not only the buildings but the street life, curio-hunting, the Western Hills, missionary work, are all treated of quite fully. As we have said, all geese are regarded as swans—we doubt till we see it whether that temple in the Hills is fairer than the Taj Mahal—but allowing for this little weakness we appreciate the book to the full and are sincerely grateful to the writer.

The publishers give an incomplete list of errata; in the next edition more corrections must be seen to, such as *striken*, *smilling*, *irristible*, *Boldget*, etc. K'uai tzŭ (chop-sticks) should not be translated "nimble lads," and we shall assume that "an addenda" is a printer's error.

The romanization is supposed to be Wade's, but alas! it is anything and anyhow, with and without accents, aspirates, etc.

The book is very daintily produced, and the publishers are to be heartily congratulated on its attractive appearance. It is suited to a drawing-room table, and we would suggest that some copies be bound in more substantial style for the student's shelf.

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The Training of Mind and Will, by W. TUDOR JONES, M.A. PH.D. London, Williams & Norgate, 1919. 2/6 net.

This little book gives the substance of many lectures on Civics delivered to the lads of Great Britain during the Great War—both at home and in France—under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. It is published at the request of the young men themselves; and it is to be noted that the lectures were enriched by very many examples of self-helpful and useful citizens—which examples are not included in the present text.

Two points struck us as we read. The first was, that if the ideas here given were hailed as so *fresh*, as well as inspiring, by these young folk, Dr. Jones must be entirely right when he says, "Something had been wrong with their education in the past." Many of the things he told them of the joys of the mind, and of the rich reward awaiting honest endeavour to improve oneself, ought to have been commonplaces to them, and would (we think) have been so, had they been Americans. Matthew Arnold spoke scornfully of the United States as "the paradise of the average man"; but nevertheless a country where the ordinary man is constantly encouraged and expected to "make good" is a country which utilizes its human material to an extent that England has never yet dreamed of doing.

The second point we noticed was that the initial appeal made to these youths was frankly a pagan one. We seem to be breathing Attic rather than English air. It is a pregnant sign of the times that in a Christian land, a religious organization speaking to young men most of whom were risking, or were about to risk their lives for their country, laid the emphasis on self-realization rather than on self-sacrifice.

The two are doubtless complementary not contradictory, but the denial of self for others is *the* Christian appeal: and the lecturer did not find much patience shown towards any appeal backed by religious authority, however long-established or august. He had to begin much further back, and only at

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the end is religion referred to, and Christianity only in one sentence. Which again makes one think that "something must have been wrong with their education." The religion of their land had been so presented to them as to seem irrelevant to them when they needed it most.

The book might usefully be translated into Chinese by the Ministry of Education, and scattered among the young people of this great Republic; and might get a hearing where more specifically Christian books would be unwelcome; which perhaps is the reason that it was sent to us for review.

China of the Chinese, by E. T. C. WERNER.
London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1919.

The author of "Descriptive Sociology—Chinese" has provided us with a handbook more convenient to use than the ponderous tome from which most of his facts are repeated, and for which we should thank him. The relation of this work to the other is somewhat the same as the relation of De Groot's smaller work on Chinese religions to his large one. It is a sociological description of the development of the Chinese nation. A brief geographical and historical survey precedes the main part; and is followed by a description of institutions,—domestic, ceremonial, political, ecclesiastical; and after this in turn comes a review of "sentiments," and "ideas"; finally language and products are treated. There need be no quarrel about this classification if the purpose of the author be kept in mind. One suggestion only we venture to make; namely, that in distinguishing sentiments from ideas, it would have been better to be more deferential to the psychologists and their use of these terms. There can be only praise for the exhaustiveness of the survey; it is a book for reference, as a result, rather than for the general reader; and if the array of facts and facts and facts gets to be dismal, only the most skilful of the writers on sociology have ever avoided that fault.

Mr. Werner's master, Herbert Spencer, has often been accused of attempting to cover so much ground as to admit

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errors that should have been avoided. A few of these we have observed in the present work. The description of the marriage ceremony (p. 45) is given as though it were true for the whole of China, including the details, which is not the case. It is incorrect to say of foot-binding that "comparatively few new cases occur" (p. 65). Can the failure of the leader of the Taipings to pass his examinations be the determining cause of the rebellion (p. 125)? The figures for Mohammedans are probably overstated (p. 204). The references to Buddhism are far too brief to give the right impression of the real effect of this religion on China. And opium smoking is not ended (p. 228). Nor has the use of wine (p. 281) been "practically abolished."

On the other hand we are glad to note some special excellencies of the work. The discussion of infanticide is temperate and just, and so full as to be almost an excursus. Religious toleration (p. 93) does indeed not exist in the Western sense, *pace* numerous writers on China. In no other work that we know are religion and church in China treated separately as they ought to be. The section on moral sentiments (pp. 221 ff.) rises above the dead level of a recital of facts, to which the plan of the book has largely condemned it, and becomes real history, glowing with the colours of a people's life. It is not easy to do justice in words to all the virtues of the book. The reader will best appreciate its worth if he will compare and contrast it with other works which attempt to deal with China as a whole and to put a value on her civilization. Mr. Werner is not an auctioneer, crying up his goods, nor a cynic, cheapening them, but a responsible judge, delivering a carefully thought-out opinion.

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